35 CENTS

The Forum

EDITED BY J. M. RICE

JULY, 1898

William Ewart Gladstone . . . . . JUSTIN McCARTHY, M.P. 513

The Philippine Islands . . . . . FRANK F. HILDER 534

Our Inadequate Consular Service . Senator STEPHEN M. WHITE 546

The Ethics of Modern Warfare . . . . . Hon. S. J. BARROWS 555
Member of the House Committee on Militia

International Relations Disturbed by an Insect . L. O. HOWARD 569
Chief Entomologist, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Austria-Hungary Under the Reign of Francis Joseph.
His Excellency ALBERT von SCHÄFFLE 574
Formerly Austrian Minister of Commerce

The People of Hawaii . . . . HENRY SCHULER TOWNSEND 585
Inspector-General of Schools, Hawaii

The Depression in the Cotton Industry: a Remedy.
Hon. LUTHER F. McKINNEY 593
Formerly U. S. Minister to the Republic of Colombia

The Nation's Records . . . . . ADELAIDE R. HASSE 598

Does Machinery Displace Labor? . . . . . C. WOOD DAVIS 603

Indian Superstitions and Legends . . . . . SIMON POKAGON 618
Last Chief of the Pottawattamie Pokagon Band

The Evolution of the German Drama.—II.
Dr. ERNST von WILDENBRUCH 630

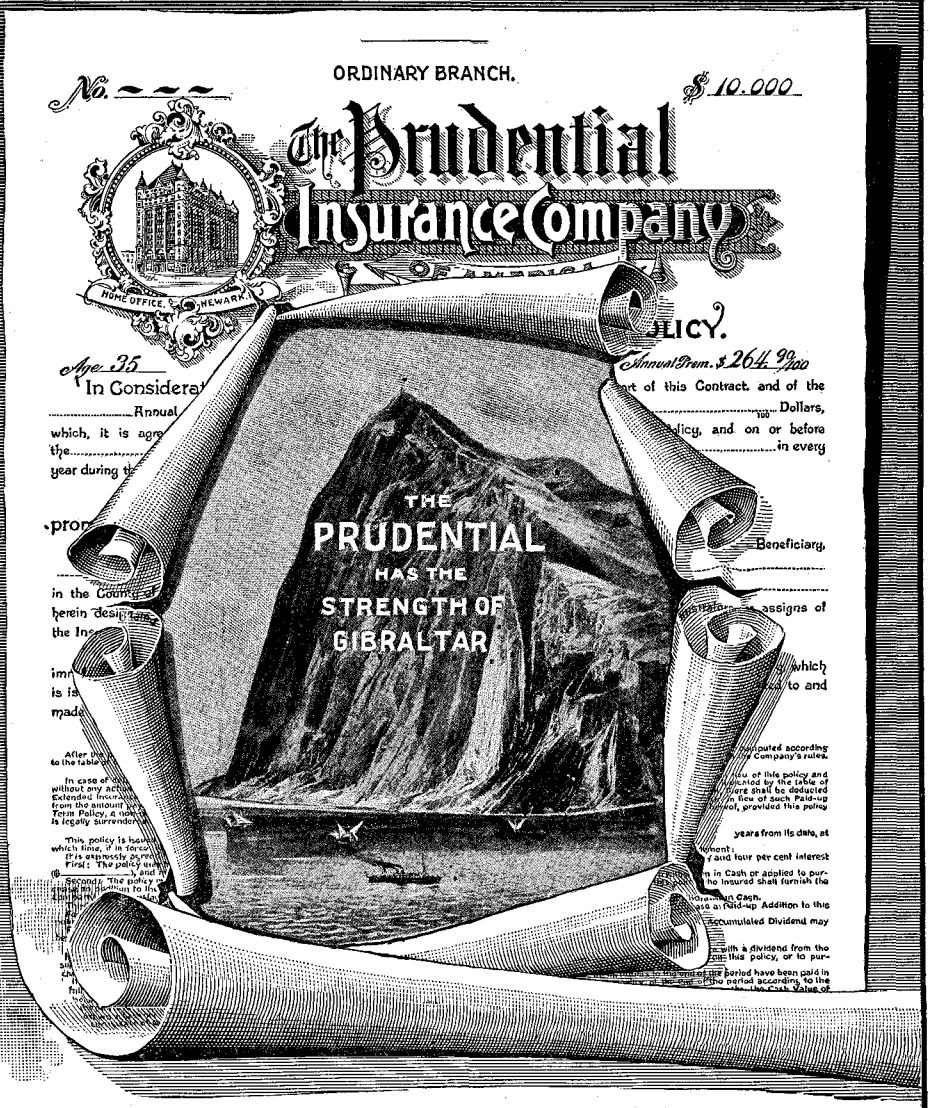
NEW YORK

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY, 111 Fifth Avenue

Paris Agency: Librairie Galignani, 224 Rue de Rivoli

35 Cts. a Copy [Vol. XXV, No. 5] $3.00 a Year

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Back of Every Policy issued by

THE PRUDENTIAL

Is the Entire Financial Strength of the Company, affording Absolute Security and Protection

ASSETS	INCOME	SURPLUS
$23,984,569.72	*$15,580,764.65*	*$5,240,118.36*

WRITE FOR INFORMATION

THE PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President — **HOME OFFICE, Newark, N. J.**

The Publishers' Printing Company, 32-34 Lafayette Place, New York
Entered at the Post-Office, New York, N. Y., as second-class mail matter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Irritable Stomachs

make irritable people. A food that is nourishing and that does not cloy the appetite is

Somatose

Somatose is a *Perfect Food*, *Tonic* and *Restorative*. It contains the nourishing elements of meat. Prepared for *invalids* and *dyspeptics*, and those needing nourishment and a restored appetite. May be taken in water, milk, tea, coffee, wine, etc.

At druggists, in 2-oz., ¼, ½, and 1 lb. tins.

Also the following combinations: Somatose-Biscuit, Somatose-Cocoa, Somatose-Chocolate — each containing 10 per cent. Somatose. Very convenient and palatable preparations.

Pamphlets mailed by FARBENFABRIKEN OF ELBERFELD CO., 40 Stone Street, New York City, Selling Agents for Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer & Co., Elberfeld.

Steady work swiftly done

that's the way of the

REMINGTON

Standard Typewriter.

Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict,

327 Broadway, New York.

SIX MONTHS — ONE DOLLAR

Wishing to have every one interested in the spread of learning THE FORUM offers to send six numbers for the small amount of $1.00. No one interested in education should fail to take advantage of this exceptional opportunity. Address,

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY,
111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THREE OAKS STUDIO.

Friend's School

FOR BOTH SEXES.

Founded in 1784.

A delightful home school. Attended by students of all denominations and representing 18 States. Curriculum includes thorough courses in English, Science, Classics, Music and Art, with every facility for pleasant and profitable study. Buildings large and convenient, with all modern improvements. Faculty composed of experienced and progressive instructors. Address

AUGUSTINE JONES, LL.B., Providence, R. I.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Connecticut, Hartford.

Woodside Seminary.

Re-opens September 28.
Terms $700 to $800.

Miss SARA J. SMITH, Prin.

Connecticut, New Haven, 66 Hillhouse Avenue.

Mrs. and Miss Cady's School for Girls.

Finishing and College Preparatory courses of study.
One hour and a half from New York.

Connecticut, Litchfield Co., New Milford.

Ingleside—A School for Girls.

Opens Tuesday, October 4th, 1898.

MRS. WM. D. BLACK, Patroness.

Connecticut, Simsbury.

McLean Seminary for Girls.

College Preparatory and English Courses. French, German, Art, Music. Attractive and healthful location. Terms, $300 to $400. Address Rev. J. B. McLEAN.

Illinois, Chicago, 618 and 619 Ashland Block.

Kent College of Law. Evening sessions.

Three years' course. *Improved methods uniting theory and practice.* Students can be self-supporting. Fall term opens Sept. 5th.

MARSHALL D. EWELL, M.D., LL.D., Dean.

Illinois, Woodstock.

Todd Seminary for Boys.

A delightful home school near Chicago. 51st Year. Location healthful and beautiful; discipline firm and kind; genuine home care and comforts. Department of manual training, gymnasium, etc. Send for prospectus. NOBLE HILL, Principal.

Kentucky, Harrodsburg.

Beaumont College.

Perhaps "One of the very best of all the Girls' Schools of the South;" in some departments the peer of any in either section. Beautiful home. Prepares for the best American and German Universities. Inexpensive. TH. SMITH, A.M., Pres. (Alumnus of University of Va.)

Maryland, Annapolis.

St. John's College.

One of the oldest colleges in the United States. Classical, Latin scientific, Scientific, Mechanical engineering and Special courses; Military department. 110th session begins Sept. , 1898. Catalogues on application. President, THOMAS FELL, Ph.D., LL.D.

Maryland, Catonsville.

The St. Timothy's School for Girls.

Re-opens September 22, 1898. Prepares for college.

Heads of School: { Miss M. C. CARTER, Miss S. K. CARTER.

Maryland, Lutherville.

$235. Maryland College

AND SCHOOL OF MUSIC. FOR YOUNG LADIES.

44th year. Modern conveniences, large campus, full faculty, thorough training, home comforts. Confers degrees. 15 States represented. G. V. YONCE, Sec. Rev. J. H. TURNER, A.M., Principal.

A School of Journalism.

Our courses in Journalism by correspondence embrace practical work in news writing, news gathering, editorial writing, a study of advertisements, literary methods generally, and the construction and proper use of the newspaper headline. Entire expense less than 60 cents a week.

LEWIS D. SAMPSON,
In special charge of the course in Journalism, NORTHERN INDIANA NORMAL COLLEGE, VALPARAISO IND.

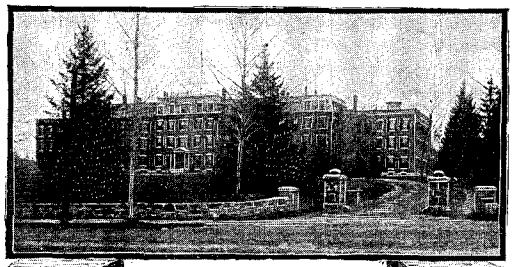
National Park Seminary

For Young Women.

Washington, D. C., suburbs

Steam and electric cars. 400 feet above city. $75,000 buildings. Gymnasium. Picturesque grounds. Perfect physical care and comfort. Limited number. 22 teachers. No examinations. Character-building. Social advantages. Planned to produce womanly women. College preparation. $350–$500. "It is a liberal education to live in Washington." Send for Catalogue.

P. O. Box 105, Forest Glen, Md.



BRADFORD ACADEMY

1803 1898

Founded 1803. For the higher education of young women.—Classical and Scientific course of study; also Preparatory and Optional. Year begins Sept. 14, 1898.

Miss Ida C. Allen, Prin., Bradford, Mass.

Massachusetts, Danvers.

Willard Hall School for Girls.

Twelfth year; number limited. For circular address,

Mrs. S. M. D. MERRILL.

Massachusetts, Easthampton.

Williston Seminary.

Prepares boys for any college or scientific school. Library. Physical, chemical, biological laboratories; gymnasium, etc. New athletic field with one-quarter mile track. Opens Sept. 8th, 1898.

JOSEPH H. SAWYER, M.A., Principal.

Massachusetts, South Byfield.

Dummer Academy.

Thorough preparation for College or Scientific School. Individual instruction. Quiet, healthful locality.

PERLEY L. HORNE, A.M.

Massachusetts, Wellesley.

The Dana Hall School for Girls.

Eighteenth year begins September 21, 1898. For information address THE MISSES EASTMAN.

Massachusetts, Wilbraham.

Wesleyan Academy.

Both Sexes. Nine Courses, Specialists in Classics, Arts. and Music. Enlarged endowment insures superior advantages at moderate expense. 82d year. Opens September 14, 1898. For Catalogue, address Rev. WM. R. NEWHALL, Principal.

Michigan Military Academy

Orchard Lake, Michigan. 26 miles from Detroit. Thorough training for college or business. Perfect military discipline with rare advantages for physical culture. A high standard of intellectual and moral culture. A school that is unique in character, sound in theory, and successful in practice. New gymnasium. Library of 10,000 volumes. Illustrated catalogue sent on request. *21st year.* COLONEL J. S. ROGERS, Supt.

Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Stanley Hall.

Home School for Girls and Young Women. Certificate admits to Eastern Colleges. Two years of College work. Ninth year opens September 15. Six Scholarships (value $200 each). Terms, $450.

OLIVE ADELE EVERS, Principal.

Missouri, St. Louis. 'Varsity Elec. R. R. via Lindell R. R.

Forest Park University

FOR WOMEN. Thorough College course. College of Music, E. R. Kroeger, Director; Anna V. Metcalf, Voice; Parisi, Violin. Pipe Organ, Elocution, Art. Board and tuition, $260 to $275. Address for catalogue, Mrs. ANNA SNEED CAIRNS, Pres.

New Hampshire, Exeter.

The Phillips Exeter Academy.

116th year begins Sept. 14, 1898. Eighty scholarships awarded to students of high standing. Six important buildings added since 1872. For Catalogue and illustrated Supplement, address

HARLAN P. AMEN, Principal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

New Hampshire, Plymouth.

Holderness School. This Church School gives thorough preparation for College or Scientific School at moderate cost. Healthful and beautiful of environment. The Rev. LORIN WEBSTER, A.M., Rector. The Rt. Rev. W. W. NILES, D.D., LL.D., Pres't of Trustees.

New Hampshire, West Lebanon.

New Hampshire Military Academy.

Among New Hampshire hills, amid fine groves, and in a bracing climate. Large, airy building, perfect sanitary conditions. Thorough preparation for any college, and government academies. Full commercial course—business, law, stenography, and typewriting. Reopens September 14, 1898. Terms low. For catalogue address

Major B. F. HYATT, A.M.,
Principal.

New Jersey, Blairstown.

Blair Presbyterial Academy. John I. Blair Foundation. Both sexes. 51st year. Prepares for College or Business. Music, Art, Physical Culture. New fire-proof building for ladies. Low rates. Superior advantages. Send for catalogue.

Rev. JOHN C. SHARPE, A.M., Principal.

New York, Albany.

St. Agnes School. Under the direction of BISHOP DOANE. Preparation for all colleges. Special Studies and Courses of College Study. Special advantages in Music and Art. Gymnasium.

Miss ELLEN W. BOYD, Principal.

New York, Brooklyn.

Adelphi College Classical, Literary, Scientific Courses. School of Art. Kindergarten Training Course. The Adelphi Academy preparatory for college or business. Session begins September 14.

C. H. LEVERMORE, Ph.D., President,
Lieut.-Gov. TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF,
President of the Corporation.

New York, Fort Plain.

Clinton Liberal Institute (Military). 1831 1898

Boys' and Girls' fitting school for any college. Thorough business course. Special advantages in Music and Elocution. In all respects abreast with modern educational methods. Fully equipped buildings. Overlooking the Mohawk Valley.

W. C. JOSLIN, A.M. (Brown University), Principal.

New York, Geneva, Hamilton Heights.

DeLancey School for Girls. 19th year opens September 21st.

Beautifully located, thoroughly equipped. Three complete courses: College Preparatory, Literary, Musical. Write for the catalogue.

Miss M. S. SMART, Principal.

Riverside Drive, 85th and 86th Sts., New York.

The Misses Ely's School for Girls.

Re-opens October 5th.

Montpelier.

Home School for Girls. Open for special students all the year.

Mrs. T. TILESTON GREENE, 244 Central Park West, New York.

New York City, suburban.

The Misses Hickok's School for Girls.

Lectures by professors in Columbia University. Advantages of the country and close connection with the city.

Morristown, N. J.

New York, Pelham Manor.

Mrs. Hazen's Suburban School for Girls.

Half-hour from New York.

New York, Poughkeepsie.

Lyndon Hall School for Girls.

Academic and College Preparatory Courses. Circular gives full particulars.

SAMUEL W. BUCK, A.M.

New York (Long Island), Roslyn.

Roslyn Heights Seminary. Fifteen boys. Ideal location. Home comforts and care. Thorough instruction and discipline. Unusual advantages.

Rev. JAMES HALL.

New York, Troy.

Emma Willard School.

Formerly the Troy Female Seminary. Academic and Graduate courses. Departments of Music and Art. Certificate admits to Wellesley, Smith, and Vassar colleges. 85th year opens September 21, 1898.

Miss MARY ALICE KNOX, Principal.

Ohio, Granville.

Shephardson College. D. B. PROVINTON, LL.D., Pres. Denison University and Shephardson College. For Young Women. Collegiate Courses. Preparatory Department. Conservatory of Music, Art, Elocution, Physical Training. Location beautiful. For catalogue or other information, address Lock Box 586. ROSE D. WHISSEN, A.M., Principal.

Pennsylvania, Chestnut Hill.

Chestnut Hill Academy.

Eleven miles north of City Hall, Philadelphia. Catalogues on application.

JAMES L. PATTERSON, Head-master

Pennsylvania, Germantown, Philadelphia.

Walnut Lane School and Wellesley Preparatory. Prepares for all Colleges. Academic and special courses. Reopens Sept. 28.

Address Mrs. THEODORA B. RICHARDS, Principal,
Miss SARA LOUISE TRACY, Associate.

Pennsylvania, Kingston.

Wyoming Seminary. Prepares boys for leading colleges and business. Prepares girls for college and for cultured, Christian homes. Music, art, and oratory. School property worth $300,000.

L. L. SPRAGUE, D.D., President.

Pennsylvania, Media.

Media Academy FOR BOYS AND YOUNG MEN. 24th year. Classical, Scientific, English, and Commercial courses. Thorough preparation or college or business. Careful individual attention. Excellent table. Beautiful location. Circular free. CHAS. W. STUART, Prin.

Rhode Island, Providence.

Slade Mansion Select School.. Home School for Girls and Young Ladies. Formerly Miss Irene Saniewska's. 40th year begins Sept. 26, 1898. 547 Elmwood Avenue, Providence, R. I.

Virginia, Hollins.

Hollins Institute FOR YOUNG LADIES. 56th session opens Sept. 14th, 1898. Eclectric courses in all Languages and Sciences, Art, Music, and Elocution. Situated in Valley of Virginia. Climate unexcelled. Mineral Waters. For information, address CHAS. L. COCKE, Supt.

Virginia, Winchester.

Shenandoah Valley Academy. Near Winchester, Virginia.

First-class in everything. Can educate and discipline ANY boy of ability. No room for one of bad habits. For catalogue address J. B. LOVETT, M.A. (Univ. Va.), Principal.

The Law Student

who is unable to get away from home for the first year's work, may have proper direction in reading, by correspondence. In the regular Law Course, by the Chatauqua plan, one who does satisfactory work through the texts assigned in the junior year will, on request, be admitted regularly without examination to the senior class in the residence work in the Northern Indiana Law College, as a candidate for the degree of LL.B.

LEWIS D. SAMPSON, Director,
VALPARAISO, IND.

New York, New York, Washington Square.

New-York University Law School.

Sixty-fourth year opens Oct. 1st, 1898. DAY CLASSES (LL.B. after two years). EVENING CLASSES (LL. B. after three years). Daily sessions 3.30 to 6 and 8 to 10 P.M. Tuition $100. GRADUATE CLASSES—fifteen courses, five obtain LL. M.

For ciculars address L. J. TOMPKINS, Registrar.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEVER HAS ANYTHING BEEN SO HIGHLY AND SO JUSTLY PRAISED AS

VIN MARIANI

MARIANI WINE, the FAMOUS TONIC for BODY, NERVES and BRAIN.

GEN. SIR EVELYN WOOD Says:

"Regarding the infantry marching in the recent manœuvres, it was the best seen during my command at Aldershot. Many officers availed themselves of the tonic and reconstituent properties of the well-known Mariani Wine, the most certain as well as the most palatable method of inducing resistance to fatigue."

From "The London Sketch."

MAX O'RELL,
The Renowned Writer and Lecturer, Writes:

Your Vin Mariani is positively marvellous; one glass put me on my feet; one bottle made a new man of me.

Yours gratefully, MAX O'RELL.

MARIANI WINE is invaluable at this season of the year, when, owing to trying climatic conditions, the system is especially susceptible to attacks of debility and prostration.

VIN MARIANI (MARIANI WINE) has stood the test of thirty-five years' trial. It has written endorsements from more than 8000 American physicians, in addition to having received cordial recommendations from royalty, princes of the Church and of the State, and many notable personages.

MARIANI WINE is a tonic prepared upon careful scientific principles. It contains absolutely no injurious properties. It gives power to the brain, strength to the entire nervous system, firmness and elasticity to the muscles, and richness to the blood. It has been aptly described as a promoter of good health and longevity.

MARIANI WINE is specially indicated for General Debility, Weakness from whatever causes, Overwork, Profound Depression and Exhaustion, Throat and Lung Diseases, Consumption, Malaria and La Grippe.

MARIANI WINE is an adjuvant in convalescence and a powerful rejuvenator. For Overworked Men, Delicate Women, Sickly Children it Works Wonders. Taken with cracked ice, it relieves Summer Prostration quickly and effectually. It soothes, strengthens and sustains the system.

To those who will kindly write to MARIANI & CO., 52 West 15th Street, New York City, will be sent, free, book containing portraits with endorsements of Emperors, Empress, Princes, Cardinals, Archbishops, and other interesting matter.

ALL DRUGGISTS. *AVOID SUBSTITUTIONS.*

PARIS: 41 Boulevard Haussmann LONDON: 83 Mortimer Street. MONTREAL: 28–30 Hospital Street.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Forum

JULY, 1898.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.[1]

I CAN well remember the day when I first saw Mr. Gladstone. I am not likely to forget it, any more than I am likely to forget the day on which I saw him last. The first time I saw him was on the occasion of his unveiling at Manchester a statue in honor of his great friend and teacher, Sir Robert Peel. The statue stands in front of the Manchester Infirmary. I have never passed it since in all these many years without thinking of that day and of the great orator who pronounced the eulogy of the other great orator. That was on October 12, 1853: many days have passed since then. It was just before the outbreak of the Crimean War. Mr. Gladstone was still what would be called in English political life a young man; and he looked younger than he actually was. Somehow to me he had a disappointing look. Except for the deep, burning eyes, he seemed at first to be almost commonplace. In later years he flashed on everyone as something absolutely out of the common.

For many years back, a stranger going at any time into a room crowded with the most brilliant company in London would have been certain that his eye would first light on Gladstone. Also it was quite certain that the stranger would find, or fancy that he found, the eye of Gladstone resting upon him. For many years the eye of Gladstone thus dominated the House of Commons. There was no escaping from it. The youngest and most obscure member of the House who ven-

[1] This sketch was written for THE FORUM about four years ago, with the stipulation that it should not be published till after Mr. Gladstone's decease.—ED.

Copyright, 1897, by The Forum Publishing Company.
Permission to republish articles is reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tured to interrupt, though merely by a question or a word from the most distant seat, the speech of the great orator, found the burning eye turned on him at once, and the overwhelming answer poured out upon him.

But in the far-off days of October 12, 1853, when I first, as a youth, saw and heard Mr. Gladstone, this strange, all-dominating power had not yet asserted itself. At least it did not reveal itself to my then youthful and inexperienced eyes. I heard Mr. Gladstone make two or three speeches on that occasion, and it was clear to me that he was a great speaker; but it was not quite clear to me that he was going to become the all-conquering Parliamentary orator that in later days he proved himself to be. Since that time I have been present at nearly all the great Parliamentary debates between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. I became familiar with the House of Commons while Mr. Gladstone was its inspiring presence, and I have been trying to become familiar with it since his great influence has been withdrawn from it forever. I well remember Palmerston and Lord John Russell; and I knew Cobden and Bright.

I think Bright the greatest orator in the House of Commons during my time. When the occasion came he could prove himself a greater orator than Gladstone,and a far greater orator than Disraeli, who indeed was not in the true sense a great orator at all, but only a consummate master of sarcastic phraseology. But then Bright, although undoubtedly he now and then shot his arrow into the air higher than Gladstone could do, was not and could not be the incessant and unfailing archer that Gladstone proved himself. About Gladstone there was no mood of fatigue or weariness or unwillingness: he was always ready for the fight. Bright was a great orator: Gladstone was a great orator, and a great debater as well. Bright's strength was not in debate. I have gained somehow the impression that Fox and Gladstone were the greatest English Parliamentary debaters since the days of Bolingbroke.

When I first saw Mr. Gladstone—in 1853—he was a very handsome man, with a profusion of dark, wavy hair. At that time it was still the fashion for men to display all the hair they could grow. The day of close-cropped heads had not come up again. Dickens wore a mass of hair; and Disraeli had not long given up the wearing of ringlets. Mr. Gladstone was, as I have said, a very handsome man. He had been a very handsome boy. The late Sir Roderick Murchison described him in 1821 as "the prettiest little boy that ever went to Eton." But I must say that he did not seem to me to be nearly so handsome a man in 1853 as he was when I saw him for the last time as Prime Minister

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of England, in his official residence in Downing Street on Monday, March 5, 1894. In 1853 there was something about Mr. Gladstone which bordered on the merely respectable. He was well dressed and well got up in every way; but somehow his appearance failed to command me. I did not see in him a king of men: perhaps I had then no notion that he was destined to become such a king of men as we all have known him since. In much later years he appeared to carry his kingship in his face. Wordsworth speaks of Coleridge as "the rapt one with the god-like forehead—the heaven-eyed creature." The words would do admirably for Mr. Gladstone as we have known him during the last quarter of a century. In his moods of deepest emotion I have often been reminded of Byron's lines describing one "on whose brow the thunder-scars are graven." The late Crabbe Robinson spoke of Goethe, whom he had known, as being "oppressively handsome." I think Mr. Gladstone in his later years was all but oppressively handsome. His eyes reminded one of all that one has read about the eyes of Robert Burns.

Then, in speaking of his physical outfit for a great place in political life, something has to be said—a great deal could be said—about his voice. It spoke indeed with most miraculous organ. It had more subtle shades of meaning than the voice of any man I have ever heard, even if I include that of the great actor, Salvini. Its semitones, its half-notes were alive with varying expression. I came too late into political observation to hear the great Sir Robert Peel, with that majestic voice of his, which Disraeli said had no superior in the House of Commons of that time—"except indeed the thrilling tones of O'Connell." But of the English Parliamentary orators of my time Gladstone had the finest voice for all its various purposes. John Bright's voice bore much the same relation to Gladstone's that, as I think, his eloquence did. There were times when Bright could be more eloquent than Gladstone. There were times when the magnificent voice of Bright could ring out more thrillingly, more musically than even the voice of Gladstone. But, for the constant work of Parliament, I have never heard a voice which could maintain its command over an audience so constantly, so irresistibly, as the voice of Gladstone.

We have, then, the Parliamentary hero starting from the very beginning well equipped for the fight. He had genius, he had presence, he had voice—and he had fortune. Mr. Gladstone was a Liverpool man by birth, a genuine Scotsman by descent. He was born in Rodney Street, Liverpool, on December 29, 1809. His people were thoroughly Scot-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tish—Lowland Scots. The name of the family originally was, it would seem, Gledstane. The Gledstanes owned almost from time immemorial a property in Lanarkshire, from which they took their name. My friend Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., in his careful and most interesting memoir of Mr. Gladstone, explains the origin of the name of the property, which became, after the Scottish fashion, the name of the family later on. "*Gled*," he says, "means a hawk; and that fierce and beautiful bird would have found its natural home among the *stanes*, or rocks, of the craggy moorlands which surround the fortalice of Gledstanes." As generations went on the Gledstanes became Gladstones; and, finally, the name was abbreviated to Gladstone. It is not likely to change again. It is not probable that any descendants of the house will ever arise with a desire to change the name from that which has been made illustrious and immortal by the William Ewart Gladstone of our times. One member of the family, John Gladstone, settled in Liverpool, became a merchant prince there, entered the House of Commons, and was made a baronet. He had six children, the third of whom was the great man who rose to be Prime Minister of England and one of the orators and statesmen who helped to make the fame of the British Parliament and of the British Empire.

Seven of my early working-years were passed as a journalist in Liverpool; and there I came to know some of the members of the Gladstone family. William Ewart Gladstone had passed long before my time into Imperial politics and into a great place in Parliament. I knew his elder brother, Robertson Gladstone,—a man of somewhat eccentric manners, but of remarkable and original ability. He was a man of striking presence. I have often seen people stop to look at him as he passed through the crowded streets of London. In his own city, Liverpool, people were used to him, and took no heed. He was one of the tallest men I have ever seen out of a show of giants. His height, I think, was about six feet seven. He was in advance of the political life of his age. He had been brought up a Tory of the strictest order; but he soon left the family traditions behind. He became a Liberal, and even a Radical. He went long before his much more gifted brother in his acceptance of modern principles in politics and in finance. He had great ability in finance; and he lent much assistance to William Ewart in connection with the early budgets of the latter.

From Mr. Russell's book, to which I have already referred, I learn that Sir John Gladstone brought up his sons and daughters to study everything and to discuss everything. Nothing was ever taken for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

granted between him and his sons. "A succession of arguments on great topics and small topics alike—arguments conducted with the most perfect good humor, but also with the most implacable logic—formed the staple of the family conversation." Sir John Gladstone's house was, as Mr. Russell truly observes, "a home preëminently calculated to mould the thoughts and direct the course of an intelligent and receptive nature." When one thinks of how the Gladstone of our time turned to incessant account that paternal training in dialectics, one is reminded of what used to be said of the younger Pitt when he began to impress the House of Commons with his arguments and his eloquence—that he was "taught by his dad on a stool." Sir John Gladstone was certainly not so great a man by any means as the elder Pitt; but he seems to have had something of the same faculty for directing into its right course the genius of his son.

The young William Ewart Gladstone, when he had reached the age of eleven, was sent, almost as a matter of course, to Eton. No place could be more appropriate for the opening studies of a boy like the youthful Gladstone. The scene itself is characterized by all the peculiar beauty that an English landscape and an ancient English town and ancient English traditions and historical and personal associations can possibly inspire. The famous College of Eton is sheltered in the shadow of the great castle of Windsor: Windsor and Eton are as one. Eton is almost like a cathedral town; and there are few things in the world more beautiful and venerable than an English cathedral town.

Gladstone led the life of a student at Eton. He was especially fond of the classics; and, although he never became a great classical scholar, in the sense of German scholarship, he had a keen, almost an impassioned, interest in the great masterpieces of Greece and Rome. He read the books rather for what was in them than for what might be said about their structure and their grammar. Gladstone unquestionably exercised a high and almost a commanding influence among his young contemporaries at Eton. He was an entirely well-behaved boy; and yet he was not in the slightest degree a prig. A prig at Eton could not possibly have any influence at all. He was not given to gymnastic exercises; but he was a great walker, and afterward was very fond of riding. He set himself boldly against coarseness of any kind. He made himself the champion of a movement against cruelty to animals, and, Mr. Russell says, "when bantered by his schoolfellows for his humanity, offered to write his reply in good round-hand upon their faces." Clearly he was the sort of boy who might venture on new theories, even at Eton.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At Eton Mr. Gladstone first foreshadowed the possession of that gift of eloquence which afterward made so brilliant and so splendid an impress upon the history of his time. At the close of 1827 he left Eton, and, after a few months with a private tutor, passed on to Oxford. There he studied hard; and there, in the Oxford Union Debating Society, he made his mark as an orator. He was soon chosen as secretary, and afterward became president of the Union. I mention these facts only to show that, at every stage of his career, from boyhood, almost from childhood up, there was nothing that he undertook in which he did not excel. In the Oxford Union Debating Society he supported Catholic Emancipation, but opposed the removal of the political disabilities imposed upon the Jews. How far off it seems to look back upon all that! Catholic Emancipation still having to be fought for, the removal of the religious disabilities of the Jews still fought against, by educated and enlightened men!

Gladstone particularly distinguished himself in Oxford by his speech against the Reform Bill of Earl Grey and Lord John Russell. He denounced the Bill as destined to break up the whole conditions of social order in Great Britain. What a modest, timid, tentative Bill it seems to us now! It merely abolished a few rotten boroughs and pocket-boroughs, and allowed the middle classes generally to have a vote for the election of Members of Parliament. It left the whole of the working-class out in the cold,—indeed, by abolishing some old-fashioned labor franchises in certain constituencies, it left the laboring-classes much worse off than it had found them. One of the great works of Mr. Gladstone's life was to redress the balance of that halting measure and, above all other things, to admit the working-population to its fair share in the right of electing Members to the Imperial Parliament.

That speech in the Oxford Union Debating Society became an important event in young Gladstone's life. It attracted the attention of a great Tory nobleman of the day—great in position and in influence, but great in nothing else except obstinacy, the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Newcastle will live in political history for two reasons—first, because, with regard to the representation of Newark, he insisted bluntly on his right to "do what he liked with his own," and, next, because he brought Mr. Gladstone into political life. The Duke of Newcastle's son, Lord Lincoln, was a great friend and college chum of Gladstone's,—he was afterward his official colleague,—and he wrote to his father enthusiastically about Gladstone's speech at the Oxford Union Debating Society. Meanwhile Gladstone had left the University. He graduated in 1831

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with highest honors both in classics and in mathematics (a double first-class). At that time he had a very serious idea of entering the church. His father, however, preferred that he should go in for a political career; and Gladstone deferred to the parental wishes.

There has been a good deal of futile speculation as to what sort of name Mr. Gladstone would have made if he had gone into the English Church, and also as to what might have happened to him if he had remained at Oxford a little longer, and come under the influence of what we may call the Catholic revival and of the bewitching mastery of the late Cardinal Newman. It is idle to think of these things now. What did happen was, that Gladstone went to Italy to study the language and to enjoy the scenery and the art and the traditions of the country, and was recalled to England, after some six months, to contest, at the request of the Duke of Newcastle, the borough of Newark against a Liberal candidate. Fate seems to have a way of bringing back illustrious Englishmen from Italy to take part in political affairs. Milton came back from Florence; Sir Robert Peel was summoned home from Rome; John Bright returned from Florence; and Mr. Gladstone hurried from Italy to fight the Tory battle at Newark.

Gladstone was successful. The success was not certain in advance: for the influence of the Duke of Newcastle had been challenged effectively on a former occasion; and the Reform Bill had meanwhile been passed into law. The Bill received the Royal assent,—how reluctantly that assent was given we all know,—and Mr. Gladstone stood for Newark in December of the same year. He was returned at the head of the poll, and was thus launched upon his Parliamentary career.

Gladstone found ample means afterward to recompense himself for his shortened stay in Italy. Whenever he had leisure during the rest of his busy and eventful life, he delighted to spend it in Italy. He loved the country, was steeped in its literature and its traditions, and hailed the prospect of its unity. He learned to speak the language well. A distinguished member of the Italian Parliament told me that if Gladstone could somehow be got into either of the two Chambers at Rome, and were to make a speech there, he might easily pass for a native of the country, —only that a man of one Italian province would take him for a native of another. After his own country, Gladstone loved Italy best—until he became interested in the story of Ireland. He had of course a great affection for Greece also. He was suffused with the literature of classic Greece, and was full of sympathy with the hopes and struggles of modern Greece. Later in his life he had an opportunity of visiting Athens

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and standing on the Acropolis and studying the Parthenon, and of looking over that scene which, for rock, river, sea, and island,—physical beauty combined with artistic perfection and immortal association,—is surely without comparison in all the world. Mr. Gladstone was welcomed everywhere in Greece as "the Philhellene."

This of course is anticipating events in his career. I have introduced so much here and just now only to point to the early predilections which were formed in him by the study of the great authors of what are called the classic times of Greece and Rome. His love of Italian literature was as much aflame for the days of Dante as for the days of Vergil. So far as I know, he does not seem to have had any great passion for the literature of Germany. German literature burst upon the world like a flood. One day it was wholly unknown to Europe in general; the tongue of the German courts was French; and the language of many philosophical German writers was Latin. The next day, if I may put it in this way, the scholarship of Lessing and the poetic genius of Goethe and Schiller had conquered Europe and the world. Mr. Gladstone did not seem to have quite caught up with it. I have heard him quote very effectively in the House of Commons from Schiller's "Mary Stuart"; but I do not remember ever to have heard him adorn a speech with any citation from Goethe or Heine. His heart's love was given to the literature of England, of Greece, and of Italy. Such was the literary outfit with which he entered the House of Commons in the reformed Parliament of 1832. That first Parliament met on January 29, 1833,—we name a Parliament after the year of its origin, not of its first actual assembling. In January, 1833, Mr. Gladstone first entered that House of Commons with which his name must ever be associated so long as men read English history.

Mr. Gladstone, then, is launched into political life as a Tory—as what I may be allowed to call a High-Church Tory. It is not surprising that he should have entered into public life thus. His father was a Tory of the Tories. The times were well calculated to make moderate men—especially men of property—lean to Conservative opinions, to take refuge in them, with the natural, human, futile idea that one's holding this opinion or that can avert the course of an organic political development. When Gladstone was born, Napoleon was still at the height of his fame. Not many months had passed since Wagram. Napoleon was himself in fact a genuine Conservative, and even a reactionary; but the Conservative politicians of England, and indeed of Europe, seemed to regard him as if he were the author and the inspiration of all the extravagances of the French Revolution. Throne and altar, peace, property, religion, the cash-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

box, the currency, the chalky cliffs of England, and the domestic hearth alike seemed to be threatened by the influences and the objects of the French Revolution.

Sir John Gladstone naturally remained a Conservative; and his son followed him in the same line of thought. The father was a great friend and supporter of Canning, who represented Liverpool for many years; and the son may be said to have grown up under the influence of Canning's teaching. Gladstone himself has told us all about it. In his immortal speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1866—his own and Lord Russell's Reform Bill—Mr. Gladstone said, in explanation of his early Conservative doctrines:

> "I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning; every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and my youth; with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad; with Canning I rejoiced in the opening he made toward the establishment of the commercial interchanges between nations; with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant my youthful mind and imagination were impressed."

Canning's influence, curiously enough, has faded entirely out of public memory in our time. He was hardly what could be called a Conservative, in the narrower sense of the word. Indeed he was an intellectual Liberal in everything except where Parliamentary reform was concerned. He appears to have been a sort of miniature Burke—with a handsome presence and a beautiful voice. He impressed and captivated the Majority of the House of Commons in his time: but Lord Brougham has denied that he ever possessed the real fibre of an orator; and Disraeli has mercilessly disparaged him. Still, he was just the sort of statesman to impress the youthful Gladstone. John Bright once said to me, "Gladstone is always struggling toward the light." So, in a certain sense, was Canning. So, most assuredly, Canning must have appeared to Gladstone.

Under these influences, then,—the name of Canning and the "yet more venerable name of Burke,"—Mr. Gladstone blossomed into Conservatism. His success was foretold by all men who came to know him well. One man, who certainly did *not* know him well at the time, nor indeed ever after, saw no promise in him. This was Mr. Disraeli—his great rival in later years, and the only Conservative orator in the House of Commons who was able to hold the lists in any effective sort of way against Gladstone. In Gladstone's early political career, when people were already beginning to talk about him, Disraeli met him somewhere in London, and wrote, I think, to his sister, to tell her she might depend

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon it that "that young man has no future in politics." Some eminent person or other said, in Julius Cæsar's earlier days, that, whatever might come of that young man, he never would make a soldier. Alva scoffed at the notion of William the Silent leading a formidable rebellion.

Gladstone's commercial education stood him in good stead when he came into Parliament. Commercial questions were then occupying close and eager attention. It is not generally remembered, although of course it is recorded in all his biographies, that Gladstone spent some years in studying for the bar, and gave up his idea of becoming an advocate only when the opening seemed so clearly to present itself for a successful career in politics. I cannot help thinking what a superb advocate he would have made; what ingenuity he would have displayed; how he would have wound himself in and out of any evidence; how he would have dazzled the jury by his eloquence; how he would have bewildered the judge by the plausibility and the pertinacity of his argument. Still I think we must all be glad that the English bar did not get what was meant for the English Parliament. But I have always thought that Gladstone's studies in law, such as they were, must have been of great advantage to his Parliamentary career. Combined with his early training to business ways, they carried him far in the House of Commons. He soon attracted the attention, the admiration, and the confidence of Sir Robert Peel, then approaching the height of his fame and influence.

Peel gave the young Gladstone his first chance of office. In December, 1834, Peel appointed him a Junior Lord of the Treasury,—really a sort of Parliamentary under-secretaryship with a fine-sounding name to it,—an office with which promising young men usually begin. In 1835 he was invited by Peel and consented to become Under-Secretary for the Colonies. This is a post of real political importance in the House of Commons,—if the Secretary, the chief, happens to be in the House of Lords. Disraeli, in one of his political novels, says that the Foreign or Colonial Under-Secretary whose chief is in the House of Lords is master of the situation. At least he puts these words into the mouth of one of the personages of his novel; and another of the personages, a lady, takes the words literally and assumes that the Under-Secretary so favored by fortune really obtains a position which is officially described as "master of the situation." In this sense Mr. Gladstone was master of the situation. His official chief was Lord Aberdeen, the "travelled Thane, Athenian Aberdeen," of Byron, and the Aberdeen of the Crimean War—a curious link between the present and the past. The friendship which sprang up between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone survived many political

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

changes. But the new Under-Secretary for the Colonies had not much chance of showing what he could do in the House of Commons as master of the situation. Sir Robert Peel was turned out of office very soon; and Mr. Gladstone, it is needless to say, cheerfully followed his friend and leader into opposition. It is a remarkable historical fact that the motion on which the Government of Sir Robert Peel was dismissed from office, and which sent Mr. Gladstone into opposition for the time, was a motion directed by Lord John Russell against the Irish State Church—that church which Mr. Gladstone himself afterward disestablished and disendowed.

The year 1838 was an important, indeed it might almost be called an eventful, year in Mr. Gladstone's life-story. In that year he published his book, "The State in its Relations with the Church,"—the book which Lord Macaulay did so much to bring into literary importance by that review in which he described Gladstone as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." The book would have been forgotten long ago, if it had been written by a different man and been reviewed by a different man. What it asserted was, in brief, that the state as a state has a conscience in religious matters, and is bound to act upon that conscience —is bound, for example, to maintain its own religion to the disadvantage of every other. The mere lapse of time has settled that controversy for Great Britain and Ireland. It has hardly ever come up in the United States since the colonies formed themselves into a Union; nor would it at present have the slightest interest as a subject of discussion in Canada or Australasia. But there was a great fascination about it to a mind like that of Gladstone. The state is supreme; the state must care for its people; the supremest care for its people is the care for their immortal souls; therefore, the state is bound to encourage and even to enforce its own chosen religion. Now, between this doctrine and the much-denounced doctrines of the Inquisition, I, for one, do not see a pin to choose.

We must remember, however, that Gladstone was bred in Oxford, and that the influence of the religious revival there took fast hold of him. The religious revival began with a generous desire to make the church once again the inspiring force of the nation. The leader of that movement was the late Cardinal Newman. Two of Gladstone's nearest and dearest friends were Mr. James Hope, afterward Mr. Hope Scott, whom I well remember as one of the most brilliant and successful members of our Parliamentary bar, and Mr. Henry Edward Manning, afterward Cardinal Manning, whose friendship I had the honor to possess, and whose advice I sought at many a critical moment. These two men had at first

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only the thought of reviving and reawakening the English State Church to a sense of her duty as a light and a leader of the nation. After a long struggle they followed Newman; having convinced themselves by different forms of reasoning that there was no church but the Church of Rome. The determination of his friends filled Gladstone with the deepest grief. I know of nothing more touching in its way than the language of some of the letters written many years later by Mr. Gladstone to the daughter of his old friend, Hope Scott.

All this I mention to show how deeply rooted in Mr. Gladstone's earlier mind was the theory that the state is bound to maintain a religion of its own. In his book he expressly defended on this principle the Irish State Church—that church which he afterward abolished as a state-supported institution. He defended it on the very ground on which he afterward abolished it. The Irish State Church had been planted by conquest among a people who would not and could not accept its teaching. It was the church of only one-sixth of the population. But the other five-sixths had to pay for its maintenance. One need not discuss a question of this kind now. Mr. Gladstone, in his book, contended that, the smaller the number of Protestants in Ireland, the greater was the need of a Protestant establishment maintained by the state. From his point of view he was strictly logical. It would be the duty of the state, from that point of view, to spend all its available resources to save one single soul. But it must have given a sudden shock to Gladstone's mind when he found that three of the men he best understood and most looked up to in the world had carried the logical principle one step farther and to its final movement, and had seen no way out of the difficulty but to become members of the Church of Rome. In truth, Gladstone's nature was made up of three strands which were closely intertwined. He was a churchman; he was a financier; and he was a believer in the doctrine of nationalities. The more closely we examine the work of his great life, the more we shall find that these three principles wrought and interwrought upon each other—they compelled compromise and gave some appearance of inconsistency. By this light I think is Gladstone to be judged in the political sense. He began as a Tory, a Protectionist, and a devotee of the principle of a state conscience. But then he had the genius and the training of a financier; and he had faith in the national principle.

At a time when other English statesmen seemed to have no idea but that of fusing all parts of Great Britain and Ireland into one homogeneous, monotonous mass, Mr. Gladstone was always urging that each division of the Kingdom should keep to its ancient traditions, should love

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its own ways and its own poetry and its own art—should be, in short, a nationality. He wanted the Englishman to be an Englishman; but he also wanted the Scotchman to be a Scotchman, the Welshman to be a Welshman, and the Irishman to be an Irishman. At a very early period of his political career he was filled with a desire to go to Ireland and to judge of its condition for himself. He was anxious that his friend Hope should accompany him; but the expedition did not come off at that time nor under the desired conditions.

I am not writing a biography of Mr. Gladstone. Even if I were to attempt such a task in the most condensed form possible to do the subject justice, it would still have to expand much too far for an article such as I am now concerned to write. The public life of Gladstone belongs to history, and is open to the study of anyone and everyone. I am rather desirous of telling in a cursory sort of way how that life began, how that career was directed from its beginning, how the nature and the genius of the man asserted themselves, how he came to slough old beliefs and to cast away old prejudices, how, as Bright said of him, he was always struggling to the light. I have also desired to give a sort of impressionist picture of Mr. Gladstone—to tell of him as I knew him. We need not go over his public career. We know how, with Sir Robert Peel, he became a Free-Trader; how, from being a Tory, opposed to the whole principle of a popular vote, he grew to support and even to introduce measures which fell hardly short of complete manhood suffrage; how, from excusing, or defending, or indeed advocating, the principle of small pocket-boroughs, he came to decree their total extinction; how he devoted himself to the principle of nationalities all over the world. We know how he became Chancellor of the Exchequer—the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer since the days of Pitt—and how he became Prime Minister. We know that he was four times Prime Minister of England. "They may say of me," said Lord Beaconsfield to a friend, "anything they like; but they cannot deny that I have been Prime Minister of England." They cannot deny—whoever they are—that Mr. Gladstone was four times Prime Minister of England, and that the resignation of his fourth Prime Ministry was a purely voluntary act, prompted indeed by his consciousness of fading sight and failing health and deepening old age, but deprecated and deplored by all his followers. Anybody who does not know all about that, and who wants to know of it, can read of it elsewhere. My idea is to make a study from personal memory of the man rather than a chronicle of his career.

Mr. Gladstone's was an intensely earnest nature. Deep sincerity was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the keynote of his character. For many people he was too serious and too earnest and too impassioned. There were some who could not, or perhaps would not, understand such a man. They refused to believe that anyone could be so conscientious; and, to relieve their own souls and to maintain themselves in their own estimation, a certain number of persons in political life—and they were not always Gladstone's political opponents—chose to persuade themselves that he was hypocritical. "Pecksniff," it was at one time the fashion to call him among certain London Tory sets and cliques. In later years even his bitterest political opponents became more just to him, and recognized his splendid and truthful earnestness and his magnificent power of self-sacrifice. But I freely acknowledge that his earnestness sometimes took a form that put people against him. If a man did not always follow the political course that Gladstone thought he ought to have followed, Gladstone was very likely to express his convictions in his manner. I have been told again and again of men who were his habitual followers, but who went against him on some passing question, and whom, therefore, he visited with his severe displeasure. I have heard of men whom for years he cut off even from mere personal recognition, on account of some falling away from political principle which Gladstone believed them to have committed. This feeling never extended to avowed political opponents: to them he was all frankness and graciousness in private life. But he was apt to be much too severe on any of those who, as he thought, ought to have battled with him on all questions, but who had battled against him on some one particular and passing question.

Gladstone had not the art of propitiating men, such as Lord Palmerston always had, and as Lord Beaconsfield occasionally had. Lord Palmerston was always in the mood to conciliate people—it was natural to him. He did not take his politics too seriously, nor did he much care whether men went right or wrong, except as regarded the effect on an immediate vote in the House of Commons; and it came easily to him to be genial. Lord Beaconsfield could be genial when he was not too much in fear of being bored. There were times when he would shrink into himself, and could not by any influence whatever be induced to come out. Gladstone never could have been bored. He had too quick and keen an interest in everything. But he was too serious and too sensitive to take things lightly, or to make allowance for people who took things lightly; and, if he came in contact with a man whom he considered an offender, he could hardly keep from giving the man a silent suggestion as to his offence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A great deal has been made of Mr. Gladstone's sudden conversion to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. Was it sudden? On that question I can call attention to some public evidence, and can give some private evidence of my own. So long ago as 1874, when Mr. Gladstone was leader of the Opposition—having been suddenly turned out of office at a general election which he as Prime Minister had just brought on—he spoke in a debate on Home Rule raised by Mr. Isaac Butt, then the leader of the newly formed Home Rule party. Mr. Gladstone opposed Home Rule, but only on the ground that the principle was not accepted either by Great Britain or by Ireland. He emphatically declared, however, that if the principle were accepted by Great Britain and by Ireland, he would not give much for the statesmanship which could not fashion a practical and working scheme of Home Rule. I emphasize my reference to this declaration of Mr. Gladstone's for the reason that, through the whole course of the debate, the one great argument advanced by the opponents of Home Rule was that it would be impossible to devise a scheme of Irish Home Rule which could be practically worked with any consideration for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The one most important declaration made by Mr. Gladstone in his speech was, that if public opinion accepted the principle, there would be no real difficulty in working out the scheme. I was not a member of the House of Commons when that declaration was made: but I sat in one of the galleries and heard it; and I said to myself that such a declaration marked out Gladstone as a certain convert to Home Rule. Four or five years later I entered Parliament, and wrote in a leading London review two articles on Home Rule. They were intended to bring out, as far as possible, the answer to two questions: (1) Is Home Rule demanded by the Irish people as a whole? (2) Is Home Rule compatible with the working of the Imperial Parliament? The suggestion that these articles should be written came from Mr. Gladstone. The suggestion as to the time when they could most effectively appear also came from him. At that time he was not a convinced Home Ruler; but even then he was anxious that the case for Home Rule should be put in the best light. That was in the latter part of 1879. A general election was expected before very long,—it took place in fact in the spring of 1880,—and Mr. Gladstone was anxious that the articles should come before the public of Great Britain in advance of it. To me it was clear, more clear than ever, that he was advancing in the direction of Home Rule. Yet another year or two went on, and the whirligig of fate threw us Irish Nationalist Members into constant antagonism with Mr. Gladstone's Government, which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had come back into power in the spring of 1880. One night I met Mr. Gladstone in a division-lobby of the House of Commons. Our Irish National party was then but a very small party—some twenty perhaps. The Irish franchise was then ridiculously restricted; and the great bulk of the Irish working-population had literally nothing to do with it. Mr. Gladstone spoke to me in rather an animated tone, and said that he did not really quite understand why a mere handful of men chose to call themselves *par excellence* Irish Nationalist Members. "You are a small minority," he said, "twenty out of a hundred; and all the other Irish Members assure me that you do not represent Ireland at all." I said to him: "Mr. Gladstone, give us a popular franchise in Ireland, and we shall soon show you whether we do or do not represent the opinions of the Irish people." He said: "You know I have always done my best to get a popular suffrage for Ireland as well as for England and Scotland and Wales." And I answered: "Yes, I know that well; but when you do get it for us—and you will get it some day—then we shall be able to show you that our Nationalist opinions are the opinions of the people of Ireland." Thereupon somebody else came up, and the talk between Mr. Gladstone and myself was over. But I was always impressed by that short conversation—have always borne it in memory. I felt convinced that Mr. Gladstone was waiting for nothing but to be assured on undoubted evidence that the great majority of the Irish people were eager for Home Rule.

What happened? The Reform legislation of 1884 and 1885, introduced and carried through by Mr. Gladstone, gave Ireland for the first time a genuine national suffrage; and then we—the Irish Nationalists—came back, after the subsequent general election, as the great majority of the representatives of Ireland. Immediately, or almost immediately, thereafter, Mr. Gladstone announced—first in private, then in public—his acceptance of the principle of Home Rule. He had, as I have shown, been convinced for many years that, if the principle were accepted, it could be embodied in legislation. He had not been satisfied that the majority of the Irish nation approved of it. When that was made clear, it was enough for him. Let it be added, as a further proof of his disinterestedness, that, at the elections of 1885, the Irish vote was cast for the Tories, and Mr. Gladstone came into office without our support and in despite of us. That did not affect his course of policy.

In March, 1886, Mr. Gladstone brought in his first Home Rule Bill. That Bill was thrown out by a majority in the House of Commons itself. The majority against Home Rule was caused by the secession from the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liberal party of Lord Hartington,—now the Duke of Devonshire,—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, and many others. Such a secession is an event of regular occurrence, or recurrence, in the fortunes of the Liberal party. It comes with the regularity of a planet's appearances and disappearances. Some great Liberal leader goes farther on the way of reform than some of his former followers are inclined to go—and then there is a secession. Perhaps some of the seceders are further prompted to secession by the inward belief that they were not consulted early enough, that they were not taken sufficient account of at the forming of an administration; but let that pass. Certain it is, that whenever a reforming leader starts a great work of progress, a number of doubtful Liberals fall off; becoming after a while the sworn allies of the Tories. This happened in the days of Gladstone's Reform Bill of 1866, when the secession was formed which Mr. Bright described as the "Cave of Adullam." That secession, unlike the secession of our more recent time, was led by a man of culture, almost of genius, Mr. Robert Lowe,—commonly known as "Bob Lowe," and afterward Lord Sherbrooke.

Robert Lowe "blazed, the comet of a season." I remember nothing in my time like to his sudden and short success. He had made a reputation in Australia; and when he came over and settled in England, and entered the House of Commons, everybody knew that he was a man of great natural ability, high scholarship, and rare literary talent. He became one of the principal leader-writers on the "Times" newspaper. In the House of Commons he was recognized for years as a capable and highly accomplished man; but nobody ever thought of him as a man who could stand up in debate and hold his own against Gladstone or Disraeli or Bright. When, however, he suddenly came out as leader of the secession from the Liberal party in 1866, against Gladstone's Reform Bill, he stood up and held his own in debate against both Gladstone and Bright. That secession threw out Gladstone's Reform Bill and Gladstone's Government. But the Tory party was then led by a master-spirit, a consummate politician, an opportunist of the rarest kind—the Tories were led in fact by Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Disraeli saw that a popular suffrage was inevitable, even though he and his secessionist allies had defeated Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone; and he made up his mind that, since reform had to come, there was no reason why it should not come through a Tory Ministry. In the very next session Disraeli and his Government brought in a Reform Bill, which he allowed the Radicals to hammer into a much more advanced measure than that which Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone had introduced. "Bob Lowe" remained firm to his opposition;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and, as the Liberals had to support the new Bill, he had to stand up in debate against Gladstone, Disraeli, and Bright in succession. All I can say is that, so far as mere debating-power was concerned, he held his own and did not get the worst of it. Then his day was done. He never before nor after made a great figure in fight. I mention all this to show that a Liberal secession is an incident of every great measure of reform.

Mr. Lowe, with all his extraordinary fighting-power, was not able to stop the movement of reform for more than a session. None of the movements set going by the Liberal secession of our time will be long delayed by the united powers of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and the Tory party. The one supreme work that Mr. Gladstone did in later years was the reconciliation of Great Britain and Ireland. All the old misinterpretations and misjudgments and hatreds melted and vanished under the genial breath of his spell-working influence and eloquence. He did what even Charles James Fox was unable to do—and Fox was the orator and statesman who first proclaimed that Ireland ought to be governed according to Irish ideas. To have accomplished that one healing triumph alone, might well be regarded as the crown of statesmanship. When Mr. Gladstone determined on withdrawing from office and from public life, the announcement was received with more distress and dismay in Ireland than even in England or Scotland or Wales. "What shall we do without him?" was the cry of the Irish people.

To turn again to his Parliamentary career, I may say that Mr. Gladstone was singularly gifted with the art of happy and original quotation. When I speak of original quotation I mean of course the art of finding something which directly applies to the case in point, and which has not been quoted before. Gladstone surpassed even Sir Robert Peel in this art, as he surpassed him in many others. Disraeli once sneered at Peel and his quotations, on the ground that Peel never ventured on any quotation which had not already well commended itself to the House of Commons by frequent repetition. I take leave to think that Peel was especially fresh and original in his quotations. But Gladstone was still more happy and, I may add, still more courageous. I have heard him quote from Aristophanes, from Lucretius, from Chaucer, from Schiller, and carry the House of Commons with him as well as if he had been quoting from Horace or from Shakespeare. It is a gift worth mentioning, even among the many other and far more important gifts of a great orator.

Mr. Gladstone was not successful as an after-dinner speaker. Perhaps there was something too deeply earnest in his whole nature and temperament to allow him to strike that bright and happy note made up

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of sense and nonsense, humor, wit, penetrating symbolism—if I may use such an expression—that go to the making of successful after-dinner speeches. Nor was Mr. Gladstone's great rival, Lord Beaconsfield, heard at his best, or anything like his best, in an after-dinner speech. In the case of Mr. Disraeli, it certainly was not a superabundance of earnestness or even seriousness that could be held to account for his comparative failure as an after-dinner speaker. Of course it was only a comparative failure in either case—simply the fact that the man was not so apt for that as he was for other oratorical work. It is a special art, that art of making successful after-dinner speeches; and in England, as in America, it is an art which carries considerable influence with it. So far as I can remember, I think the greatest English-speaking masters of the craft whom I have known were Charles Dickens, Lord Granville, James Russell Lowell, and Chauncey Depew. Perhaps I should add Lord Dufferin and Lord Rosebery and Sir Frederick Leighton to the list. But I could not include in it Gladstone, Disraeli, or Bright.

Perhaps the one reason why Mr. Gladstone—with all his magnificent reaches over the domain of eloquence, with his power to run through each mode of the lyre and be master of nearly all—failed to conquer that particular strain of oratory which is known as after-dinner eloquence, was just the fact that he lacked a certain sense of humor. He was possessed of a gift of strong and subtle satire, which often stood him in good stead in Parliamentary debate. He could scorch with a sarcasm. His scorn had on occasion much that was sardonic in it. But he had not that strange, indefinable gift of what we call humor. Lord Palmerston had it; John Bright had it; Henry Ward Beecher had it; Bismarck has it; but it was not revealed to Gladstone. Therefore, he could not possibly succeed as an after-dinner speaker. Of course he made eloquent and powerful speeches on after-dinner occasions. He could not help doing that. He could not have been Gladstone if he had not done that. But the great difference between him and others at such a moment was this: You listened to Gladstone because it was Gladstone who addressed the company, and you did not want to lose a word he said; but you listened to Charles Dickens or to Lord Granville or to Lowell because you could not help it, because you never knew what was coming next, because the play of fancy had an intoxication for you, because the flash was always darting across your eyes, because you grudged every sound, even the sound of sympathetic, irresistible applause, that might snatch from you one of the chance words, the casual possibilities of the orator. "Don't make a noise," was your idea. "Who knows what he may say and what we may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lose?" Now this is exactly what men felt in the House of Commons while Mr. Gladstone was speaking. This is not what anybody felt when Mr. Gladstone spoke to the company gathered round a public table as the after-dinner toasts came to be proposed and acknowledged. Naturally Gladstone was not fond of presiding at public dinners. It was not his work. But he put up with it whenever he believed that he was bound to undertake it; and it can hardly be said that he ever failed: it can only be said that he never surprised by a success.

I must say something of Gladstone as a talker—I mean in private life. I do so wish that he had a Boswell—I do so hope that there may have been a Boswell lurking round somewhere, who will proclaim himself when the right moment comes. It will be a sad thing if the Boswell has not been in attendance and taking notes all the time. Gladstone was really, I am convinced, one of the great talkers of the modern world. I do not quite know with whom one could compare him. He did not bear down crushingly upon an adversary in argument, as Dr. Johnson so often did. It is quite impossible to think of him as ever being rude in discussion or contradiction, as Carlyle could be. He did not want to keep the whole talk to himself, as Macaulay very often did. In fact, he was as remarkable a listener as he was a remarkable talker. He had an intense desire to get from everybody all that he or she knew on any subject whatever with which Gladstone himself did not happen to be thoroughly acquainted, or on which he thought there were any new lights to be thrown. He liked to ask questions of all sorts of persons and to get answers, and to reason out the whole affair. I have said that I do not know whether Mr. Gladstone was much of a reader of Goethe; but he certainly always seemed to me to be filled with Goethe's conviction, that the most commonplace man or woman he came across could not leave his company without giving him some idea which had not been in his mind before. When he wanted to talk, he could pour out his talk in a flood—in a torrent. He was a much more energetic talker than Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example. Holmes was a delightful, poetical, musical, ever-flowing brook: Gladstone was a rushing river. Holmes had infinitely more fancy; and, of course, he was all compact of humor: Gladstone had more strength, more emotion, more definite purpose. He talked for the sake of learning, or of teaching; for the sake of convincing, or of being convinced; to draw from his companion whatever he could get; to give out in return all that he had to give. He did not often care to play with a subject or around a subject, as Holmes or Lowell might have done.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I account it a good fortune to have been able to follow closely and at a near distance the greater part of Gladstone's great career. As I have explained already, Mr. Gladstone was really only at the opening of the best part of his statesmanship, financial and other, when I first listened to his speech in Manchester more than forty years ago. Since then I have naturally watched over every chapter of his political history, have heard nearly all his great Parliamentary speeches and many of his speeches made outside Parliament, have sat in the House of Commons and supported him, have been compelled by principle to oppose him, and then have supported him once more and to the end. I account it one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been allowed to form his personal acquaintance—to have been permitted now and again to look into his great, hopeful heart. I saw, of course, some of his defects as a leader of Parliaments. He was, as I have said, curiously wanting in the art and craft of managing men. Perhaps, even if he had had the skill, he would have despised it too much to make any use of it. He could captivate the House of Commons, he could dominate a vast public meeting, he could carry the country with him; but he never knew—or, if he knew, never put his knowledge into practice, —the way to manage the men with whom he came in contact. If he liked a man, and felt drawn to him, he would delightedly welcome that man to his hospitality and his friendship. But he had no idea of winning men over by throwing open his house and his welcome to them. He assumed, apparently, that men were bound to act on principle, as he did himself, and to vote right if they felt right. The genial, superficial arts by which Lord Palmerston always kept himself popular were totally unknown to Mr. Gladstone—or, as I have said, if he knew them, he renounced and despised them. My own opinion is that he knew nothing of them, and never troubled his mind about them.

Gladstone was always gracious of speech; and his nature was full of the nobler kind of sympathy. But he could not concern himself about the fact that, in order to conciliate this or that man, or to keep him still on the right side, it was necessary to ask him now and then to dinner. I point out this defect without hesitation, because I know that many will think, as I think, that even that frailty "lean'd to virtue's side." It certainly went against him in political leadership—it will not count much against him in history. What history must tell of him is, that, in elevation of character, as well as in political genius and Parliamentary eloquence, he was the greatest Englishman of the nineteenth century.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

ADMIRAL DEWEY has given a new world to the United States, almost as literally as Columbus gave a new world to Spain; and, until recently, the majority of Americans knew almost as little of the one as did the people of Spain about the other. Beyond the fact, that there existed an Asiatic country which supplied us with Manila hemp, and from which we imported sugar in large quantities, few of our citizens knew anything concerning Spain's island empire in the Orient. Now, suddenly, a war, undertaken for the purpose of rescuing a neighboring people from an intolerable bondage, and without any purpose of territorial aggrandizement, has thrown into our hands a region rich in resources, and teeming with great commercial possibilities, and has imposed on us the grave responsibility of shaping the destiny of eight millions of people.

Whatever may be the decision of our statesmen as to the future form of government to be established in the Philippines, the civilized world will hold us responsible for its success or failure; and we owe it to our own people that the commercial advantages to be derived from this unexpected turn of events shall be utilized for their benefit.

However we may differ as to the fiscal policy of our Government, whether Free Trade or Protection should regulate our importations from other countries, there is but one opinion as to the necessity of the expansion of our export trade, and of finding markets for our ever-increasing surplus of products and manufactures. As the commercial activities of the nations of Europe have so filled every avenue of trade across the Atlantic that there is little left for us in that direction, it is to the Pacific that we must turn for the development of our commerce.

W. H. Seward, the far-seeing statesman who secured Alaska for us, recognized that our future commercial energies must be largely directed from the Pacific Coast. On July 29, 1852, he delivered a speech in the Senate which, in the light of recent events, seems prophetic. He said:

"Who does not see, then, that every year hereafter European commerce, European politics, European thoughts, and European activities, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter?"

The opportunity of securing in the Philippines a magnificent vantage-ground from which to strive for our share of the vast commerce of the Orient has now been placed in our hands. No such prize has fallen to any nation since Great Britain acquired Burma. To ascertain its full value, scientifically to explore, examine, and classify the magnificent natural resources of the islands, our Government should, without loss of time, imitate the example of Napoleon, who, when he sent an army to Egypt, appointed a scientific commission to accompany it. We have in the Government scientific bureaus all the machinery for organizing such an expedition, and an ample corps of trained observers well fitted for the work. In the meantime every scrap of reliable information concerning this little-known region has its value.

The Philippine Islands form an important factor in the great Archipelago which lies to the southeast of the continent of Asia. The actual number of them is not definitely known, but is variously stated at from six hundred to two thousand. The latter figure is probably intended to include the Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands, the Carolines, and the Pelew Islands, which are all under the jurisdiction of the Government of the Philippines. Some of them are mere islets, or rocks, too small for habitation; but others are magnificent in size, scenery, and resources. The largest, Luzon, on which is situated Manila, the capital, has an area of about 41,000 square miles, and equals in size the State of Ohio. Mindanao, the next in size, contains about 38,000 square miles. As the group has never been thoroughly surveyed, no definite statement can be given of its aggregate land-area; but the most reliable estimate is 114,356 square miles,—equal to the combined area of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The Philippines are situated directly in the line of volcanic activity, which extends westerly from Japan to Java; and that volcanic forces have largely contributed to their formation and topography, is evidenced by the number of mountains which show traces of former destructive eruptions and by several volcanoes which are still active. The islands are generally hilly and mountainous; but none of the summits much exceeds a height of eight thousand feet.

As a consequence of these subterraneous forces, earthquakes are frequent and violent; the historic records during the Spanish occupation of the Islands containing many accounts of such disasters and their frequent recurrence, which has led to the adoption of a method of erecting

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

buildings specially adapted to such exigencies. One of the most destructive of these convulsions occurred in 1880, when many prominent buildings were wrecked,—among them the cathedral at Manila, which has been since rebuilt. Its ruined tower is still standing, and bears testimony to the violence of the shock.

The generally accepted hypothesis is, that the Philippines are portions of a continent, which at some distant period of the earth's history extended southward to Australia. Of their geology, however, little is known; the absence of roads, the primitive appliances for travel, and the luxuriant tropical vegetation rendering ordinary exploration and surveys very difficult. These would have proved still greater obstacles to a geologic survey or scientific search for minerals.

It is a fact, however, that gold is profusely and widely distributed throughout the whole group. Evidence exists that gold-mining by very primitive methods was practised by the natives for many centuries before the advent of the Spaniards; and gold in considerable quantities is still produced, though in a very desultory and wasteful manner,—in some places, by washing the alluvial deposits, and, in others, by breaking the gold-bearing rock with hammers, grinding it in rude mills, and washing the pulverized quartz in the same manner as sand and gravel from rivers are treated. The returns yielded by these crude methods are of course poor; but they are sufficient to supply the modest wants of the operators.

It seems remarkable that the Spaniards, though possessing the knowledge of the existence of gold in paying quantities, have not taken measures to prosecute a search for it and to apply modern scientific methods to procure profitable results. This, however, may not appear so strange, when we remember that the gold deposits of California were for centuries in their possession without being utilized. Is it not a curious coincidence, that the gold-fields of California and those of the Philippines should both be cast into our hands by the fortunes of war from the same original owners? There is little doubt that skill and industry similar to those which have been employed in California would produce like or even greater results in the Philippines, and that under American management the Islands would assume an important place among the gold-producing countries.

Iron ore of good quality is abundant; but under existing conditions it has not been possible to manufacture iron as cheaply as it can be imported. Many small ventures of this character have been made; but they have been soon abandoned as unprofitable.

Considerable deposits of copper ore also exist, some of which were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worked by the natives for centuries, and, later, by a company formed in Spain; but poor methods and still poorer roads caused the collapse of the enterprise.

Several promising coal-fields are known; and some of them have been utilized to a small extent. The coal produced, while not of the highest quality, has been pronounced fit for use on steam-vessels. By proper exploration, there is no doubt that deposits equal in quality to Japanese coal will be discovered and, by the employment of improved machinery, can be profitably worked. In this, as in all other efforts to develop the mineral resources of the region, the absence of roads, with the consequent expense and difficulty of transportation, has proved an obstacle, to be surmounted only by the employment of larger capital than can be obtained under existing political conditions.

Great as are the manifestations of mineral wealth in the Philippines, the greatest permanent source of their prosperity will be, as in California, their vegetable products; and of these the forest growths will form an important factor. Ebony, cedar, iron-wood, sapan-wood, logwood, and the ever-present cocoanut tree abound. In addition to these familiar varieties there are hundreds of others—not generally known even by name—which produce ornamental woods useful for many purposes. Of all the indigenous vegetable products the bamboo is the most plentiful, useful, and beautiful. It is scattered everywhere in profusion, and is never far distant from native habitations. It is utilized for a multitude of purposes, including the construction of bridges and dwellings, furniture of all kinds, pipes for conveying water, musical instruments, mats, fences, scaffolds; the roots, branches, and leaves being utilized. It is represented by almost innumerable varieties, from those attaining a height of from fifty to sixty feet and a diameter of eight to nine inches to others no larger than an ordinary rattan. The forests also abound in all the varieties of canes, rattans, and other members of the Calamus family, which are important and valuable as serving a great variety of uses. The Areca palm also is a valuable tree; producing in enormous quantities a nut which is chewed by men, women, and children. A piece of the nut is wrapped in a leaf of the betel-pepper, which is smeared with shell lime made into a paste with water. It can be found on sale, prepared ready for use, in every town and village.

In the agricultural products there is a great similarity between those of Cuba and those of the Philippines. In both, sugar and tobacco are great staples. But the latter islands possess a unique product which hitherto it has not been found possible to raise successfully elsewhere.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This product is known commercially as Manila hemp, which is, however, a misnomer, as it has no relation to the hemp plant. Its native name is *abacá;* and it is the product of a species of plantain or banana, *Musa textilis,* which differs very slightly in appearance from the edible variety, *Musa paradisiaca.* Its fruit is small, unpleasant to the taste, and not edible. The plant attains a height of from twelve to fifteen feet.

There is evidently some peculiarity of soil or climate, or of both, that enables these islands to retain the monopoly of this fibre, which has proved of such immense commercial value. It grows best in hilly or mountainous districts, particularly in the volcanic districts in the eastern parts of the Islands, is hardy, and suffers little from any enemy but drought. It has the advantage of being a perennial, like its fruit-bearing relation; and month after month young shoots spring up from the original root. In starting a plantation the trees and brush are cleared off and burned, and the young sprouts are planted. They receive no cultivation beyond the clearing away of weeds and extraneous growths. They reach maturity in about three years, at which age they yield the best fibre. The plantations cover a large area, as the plants require a great deal of room; and it takes the product of five or six acres to make a ton of fibre at each cutting. Although many machines for the decortication of the fibre have been experimented with, none has proved satisfactory; and the crude native implement is still the only one in use. The latter consists of a rough wooden bench, with a long knife-blade hinged to it at one end, and connected at the other with a treadle. Strips of the plant are drawn several times between the blade and the bench. This operation removes the pulp and outer skin; leaving the fibre, which is then dried in the sun, and packed for shipment. The importance of this crop may be estimated from the fact that nearly 1,000,000 bales are exported annually. Of these, 40 per cent are consigned to the United States.

Sugar is grown very extensively. The cane (*Saccharum violaceum*) is not the same species as that cultivated in the western hemisphere, but is of the kind common throughout Malaysia and Polynesia. In consequence of slovenly cultivation and manufacture, and of the lack of improved machinery, the sugar produced is coarse and of poor quality. The quantity, however, is very large; supplying all that is required for home consumption, and 250,000 tons for exportation. This could be indefinitely increased by the introduction of machinery, skill, and capital.

Tobacco is an important crop; and Manila cheroots and cigars are as highly appreciated east of the Cape of Good Hope as the Cuban product

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is among Western nations. It has been estimated that in the neighborhood of Manila twenty thousand or more persons find employment in the preparation of tobacco and the manufacture of cigars. In one factory alone 9,000 girls and young women are employed. Tobacco was made a Government monopoly by Capt.-Gen. José Basco y Vargas in 1781, and remained so until 1882, when the trade was thrown open.

The use of rice as an article of food is universal among the natives: it is consequently grown in large quantities. There are several varieties; but they may be classified under two heads,—the upland rice, which is sown broadcast on the hill lands, and matures in three or four months, and the water rice, which is sown later in the season, after the rains have commenced, in the water and mud of the overflowed lowlands. In about six weeks the young plants are transplanted to the fields, which are kept constantly irrigated.

Coffee of good quality has been produced; but the crop is not an extensive one. The cacao bean (*Theobroma cacao*), which was introduced from Mexico by the Spaniards, has found a congenial home. It grows luxuriantly, and produces good crops. Corn, cotton, vanilla, cassia, ginger, and pepper are also grown to some extent. All the usual varieties of tropical fruits are abundant and of fine quality.

The Philippines lie between 4° 40′ and 20° N. lat.; extending, therefore, nearly to the northern limit of the tropical zone. There is consequently a considerable variety of climate, which also changes with the physical aspect of the country and the elevation; but all the general characteristics are of course tropical. Some recent newspaper writers, who evidently do not rely on personal experience, have described the summer climate as something terrible; but the truth is that for the tropics the heat is not excessive.

On the western side of Luzon, where Manila is situated, the hottest season is from March to June, the greatest heat being felt generally in May, before the rainy season sets in, when the maximum ranges from 80° to 100° in the shade; while the mean temperature for that month, calculated from data gathered during a period of seventeen years, is 84° —only about 2 degrees higher than the summer temperature of New Orleans, or about 9 degrees higher than the mean temperature of the warmest summer month in Washington, District of Columbia.

The seasons may be classified as hot and wet, or cool and dry; the latter lasting from October to March, when the atmosphere is cool, the sky clear, and the weather in every way delightful. The northern islands, however, are occasionally liable to terrible storms, as they lie in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

immediate track of the dreaded typhoons, which periodically develop in the Pacific, and sweep over the China Sea from northeast to southwest. They are liable to occur at any time between May and November; but it is in the months of July, August, and September that they are most frequent. In the early part of the season the northern part of the region is most subject to these storms, and feels their greatest force. As the season advances, they gradually work southward, so that the most dangerous time in Manila is about the end of October and beginning of November. These storms never pass further south than 9° N. lat.; so that the islands south of that line are exempt from their ravages. Sometimes the typhoon is of large diameter and travels slowly, so far as progressive motion is concerned; at other times it is of smaller dimensions, and both the circular and progressive motions are more rapid; but it always exerts terrific energy. These storms are accompanied by torrential rains, and frequently cause great destruction of crops and property on shore, as well as of shipping.

For a tropical climate, that of the Islands is very healthy. If people of the white races who are not acclimated will pay ordinary attention to hygienic laws, particularly as to cleanliness and temperance in eating and drinking, there is no reason why they should not enjoy good health. Leprosy, elephantiasis, and beri-beri are somewhat common among the poorer class of natives. Yellow fever is unknown; but typhoid fever is prevalent at times. The white inhabitants seldom suffer from the latter, or from other diseases which affect the natives; and this is to be explained by their better nutrition, and the more sanitary conditions in their dwellings.

On the immense coast-line of the Islands there are many good harbors; but as foreign ships have been excluded from nearly all of them, they are little known, except to seamen engaged in the coasting trade. Foreign commerce is confined chiefly to Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Sual. Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao, is also an open port; but the amount of business transacted there is not large.

The bay of Manila, which is about one hundred and twenty miles in circumference, is one of the finest in the world. The River Pasig, at the mouth of which the city of Manila is situated, enters the bay on the eastern side. There is good anchorage for ships opposite the city; but it is not considered safe during the stormy season. There is, however, excellent shelter for ships at Cavité, which lies about eight miles in a direct line southwest from Manila. At Cavité the Spaniards have a naval establishment, with a marine railroad, capable of taking from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the water vessels of two thousand tons displacement; also a dock for small vessels, shops containing machinery and appliances for repairs, an arsenal, and a hospital. There are many towns of considerable size and innumerable villages on the Islands; but the policy of concentration and restriction pursued by the Spanish Colonial Government has tended to make Manila the only great city. The facilities for communication with the interior afforded by the River Pasig and Lake Bay, of which the river forms the outlet, evidently influenced the location of the town which was found there when Europeans first landed. It was called by the natives Maynila, and was rudely fortified.

Although the name Manila is applied to the city—on both sides of the River Pasig—which forms the metropolis of the Islands, it was only to the old walled city, situated on the left, or south, bank of the river, that Philip III of Spain gave the title of "La muy noble ciudad" ("the very noble city"). Its neighbor across the river was considered a suburb, and was called Binondo; but it progressed while the old city stood still, has now become the centre of activity and business, and is the capital so far as wealth and commercial influence are concerned. The old city is a typical, old-fashioned Spanish town, which has seen very little alteration or improvement during the past two hundred years. In it the Governor-General, the Archbishop, and the whole retinue of civil, military and ecclesiastical officers and employees have their residences. It also contains the Custom-House, and barracks for the military. It is connected with the newer town by several bridges; and to cross from the old town to the new is like stepping at once from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century. The crowded streets, lined with stores and business places of all classes, the street-cars, and the electric lights are all evidences that the spirit of progress is making itself felt in spite of the inertia and conservatism which have so long prevented the city from assuming its proper place among the commercial communities of the world. The population of the twin cities and suburbs is from 250,000 to 300,000. Many of the suburban villages are very populous; having from 5,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.

Spanish statistics are notoriously unreliable; and it is difficult to ascertain the exact population of the Islands. It is generally supposed, however, to be about 8,000,000; the bulk being of Malay origin. In Mindanao and some of the other southern islands there are some people of pure Malay blood who are Mohammedans. The Spaniards call them "Moros" (Moors). There are also scattered in the interior of the islands some remnants of the aborigines, called by the Spaniards "Ne-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gritos." They are of small stature, very dark colored, and have hair inclined to be woolly. In the mountainous districts there are also other semi-savage tribes, who have never submitted to Spanish rule.

In the early days of Spanish dominion it was fortunate for the natives that the great distance of the Islands from Spain prevented them from being overrun by greedy and cruel adventurers, as was the case with the countries acquired by Spain in America. The natives thus escaped extermination, and have since increased in numbers.

The Philippine Malays are a good-looking race, and in almost every characteristic are superior to the average of Asiatic peoples. They are courteous, honest, orderly, and hospitable, but exceedingly superstitious; and those who profess Christianity are easily influenced by the priests. Living in a genial climate and on a fertile soil, their wants are easily supplied; and they take life easy. They are not steady workers; and, like most tropical people, are lacking in energy and always ready to leave work for amusement. They are fond of music, dancing, and gambling. Cock-fighting is their absorbing passion. No one is too poor to own a fighting-fowl, or to bet his last coin on its prowess. Every town and village has its cock-pit, which generally absorbs all the spare coin of the community.

The *mestizos*, or mixed races, form a large and influential element in the population. A considerable proportion of the merchants and landed proprietors are descendants of Spanish fathers and native mothers, and are also numerously represented in the subordinate and clerical offices of the Government. Those of Chinese and native blood are very numerous. Very few Chinese women come to the Islands; and the men intermarry with the native women. In their offspring the paternal type predominates; and no distinction is made by the Chinese between them and pure Mongolians.

The Chinese form a very useful and important part of the community. They are industrious, thrifty, and economical; in most of the towns the bulk of the retail trade, banking, and money-lending is in their hands; and many of them own considerable property. To the Chinese the Islands owe their earliest commercial operations, which consisted of an exchange of commodities with China and Japan. This was carried on by annual trading expeditions: but in course of time the Chinese merchants found it more profitable to remain permanently; and they formed that Chinese commercial colony, which, in spite of occasional outbursts of fanatical persecution, and of oppressive taxation, has been the mainstay of commerce in the Islands.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Excluding the military, there are probably in the Islands not more than twenty thousand Spaniards, or people of pure Spanish blood, who are permanent, or even temporary, residents; and the number of other foreigners is not large. The majority of them are in Manila, and are connected with the foreign mercantile establishments.

The commercial policy of the Spaniards, after obtaining possession of the Philippines, was to secure for Spanish subjects a monopoly of trade, by methods similar to those employed in their American colonies. For a long time a single ship only was allowed to make the voyage once a year from Mexico to the Islands, and from them to Mexico. This monopoly insured enormous profits to the adventurers who supplied the cargoes; and the whole business was permeated with bribery and corruption. In 1784 a company was chartered in Spain, called "Compañia de Filipinas," which, by opening direct commerce with Spain, caused the decline and final extinction of the trade *via* Mexico; and in 1815 the last of the vessels thus engaged was despatched from Acapulco. The company, however, in consequence of poor management and injudicious ventures, was not successful; and at the end of fifty years it passed out of existence.

In the meantime some relaxation of the system of exclusion had taken place. In 1789 the port of Manila was opened to foreign vessels; and in 1809 an English firm received permission to establish a business house in Manila; being the first foreigners to receive such concession. In 1814 this permission was made general. It is only since 1834, when the operations of the Philippine Company came to an end, that greater freedom of intercourse, and larger introduction of foreign capital and business methods, have materially affected the development of the resources of the country, as well as its foreign commerce, which, although far smaller in amount than it ought to be, is a fair indication of what it might and would become, were the country in the hands of a liberal and progressive Government.

Internal commerce, as well as the exportation of the products of the Islands, suffers from the lack of facilities for transportation. This is most marked in the rainy season, when stormy weather interferes with coastwise navigation, and land carriage is obstructed by wretched roads and the absence of bridges; necessitating the floating of goods across the swollen streams on rafts. Passenger transit is confined to horseback, or to uncomfortable two-wheeled vehicles, called *carromatos*, over roads execrable in the dry season, but which, in the wet season, become seas of mud to be traversed only in rude sledges drawn by buffaloes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The traveller in the interior of Luzon will find neither hotels nor inns for his accommodation; but every village has a public building,—generally a rude structure, and sometimes a mere hut,—where he is entitled to shelter, and can obtain food, frequently of poor character, at a fixed tariff rate. Wherever a priest or a convent is located, he is sure of more commodious quarters and better fare.

There is, however, a hopeful sign of progress in the matter of transportation, as the first railroad has been built, and is in operation from Manila to Dagupin,—a distance of 123 miles,—connecting the capital with the rice-growing district of Pangasinan. It is a single-track road, well and substantially built; and its earnings have been sufficient to encourage an extension of railroad facilities when the country shall be again at peace and under a settled government.

Considering that the Philippines are essentially agricultural, the manufacture of textile fabrics has attained considerable development; but it is not carried on in large establishments. In certain districts, there are communities where almost every family possesses a loom; and in the houses of some of the more prosperous natives a number of looms may be found which are operated by hired labor. The looms are made of bamboo, and are of the simplest construction; but little having been done to introduce modern machinery.

The products are principally cotton cloths, sail-cloths, quilts, and coverlets. Coarse fabrics are also made from fibres extracted from the leaves of the sago palm, Manila hemp, and other materials. The most beautiful fabric produced is that called *piña*, which is made from fibre obtained from leaves of the pineapple-plant. The weaving is a delicate process; and the fabric is so exquisitely fine that sometimes a few inches only result from a day's work. Sometimes silk imported from China is mixed with the anana fibre; but the plain *piña* is the most esteemed. The latter is sent in considerable quantities to Manila, where large numbers of women in the suburban villages are employed in embroidering upon it. Their work is frequently of exquisite quality, and is sold at high prices.

In the villages near Manila, and in many other places, women are employed in making hats,—somewhat similar to the celebrated Panama hats,—cigar-cases, and other small wares, in which they display great skill and taste. Mats are also largely manufactured; and, as they are generally used to sleep upon, the demand is constant. They are of various qualities, some of them being of fine texture and ornamented with colors, and gold or silver thread.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The government of the Philippine Islands is in Spain, under the direction of the Minister of the Colonies, assisted by a council of state for the Islands, which acts as an advisory board. At Manila the administration of the government is in the hands of the Governor-General. Next to the Captain-Generalship of Cuba, this is the most important and lucrative post at the disposal of the Spanish Government. The jurisdiction extends also over the Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands, the Carolines, and the Pelew Islands. There is a Lieutenant-Governor, who takes the place of the Governor-General in case of his death, and a Council at Manila, which has a voice in all questions concerning the internal affairs of the Islands. The Archbishop also exerts considerable power; and ecclesiastical authority is interwoven in all the machinery of government.

Limitations of space have necessitated my confining this description of these beautiful islands to a mere outline sketch. To fill in the details, so as to do full justice to their fertility and magnificent resources, and to depict their superb scenery of mountain and forest, river and lake, valley and fertile plain, would necessitate a volume.

The world contains no fairer nor more fertile lands, no more promising field for commercial enterprise, and no people more worthy to be elevated to a higher place in the scale of nations, and to be assisted by education and good government to obtain it. This is no imaginative statement, but the result of personal observation of the country and of intercourse with its people. If the Government of the United States accepts this mission and fulfils its obligations in accordance with the principles of liberty and the rights of man embodied in our Declaration of Independence, it will render good service both to humanity and progress as well as to our own citizens, who will reap a rich commercial harvest.

F. F. HILDER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR INADEQUATE CONSULAR SERVICE.

THE consular service of the United States is confessedly far from perfect. That it is even tolerable justifies surprise, when the peculiarities of its organization are understood. Existing for more than a century, this branch of our system has been maintained with but trifling legislative interference, or executive regulation. Notwithstanding several well-intentioned efforts in the direction of greater efficiency, the old conditions have, for the most part, remained; and valuable lessons deducible from the investigations of other nations seem to have made but little impression here.

However much prejudice may blind men and peoples, an honorable place in the competition for national preëminence must be conceded to the United States. Americans are not unreasonably proud of the laurels which have been accorded them—not without contestation—by powerful rivals in a world of enterprise. We do not shrink from comparisons as regards our progress in literature, art, and science. We have won enduring victories in war as well as in peace. The triumphs of our arms, from Lexington to Manila, have kindled patriotism and inspired manhood everywhere. Internal problems of serious import have challenged and received painstaking care; and in the main they have been wisely solved. Though far from claiming perfection, we have sought to supply deficiencies and to discover defects, in order that corresponding correctives might be applied. But we must, I fear, plead guilty to much inattention with reference to the requirements of our consular service. Its importance, not only to our dignity and national standing, but also with relation to commercial affairs, is, however, becoming more thoroughly understood; and it is to be hoped that recent developments will eventuate in wholesome changes in prevailing methods, and that there will be less hesitancy in adopting appropriate means to bring about requisite alterations.

While many do not look with satisfaction toward the disposition, evinced in some quarters, to force the Republic into wars of conquest and to adopt a colonial policy which the purest and wisest of our statesmen have uniformly condemned, yet it must be conceded that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural and inevitable requirements of trade-conditions abroad, and the developments of foreign intercourse, not only at the different seats of government, but in less prominent centres, call for increased attention and better treatment. The United States is no longer content with the home market. We meet the world in the world's markets. Though confident of our ability to hold our own, we can reap our just reward only by utilizing all the legitimate advantages within our reach. Our merchants and manufacturers are alert, intelligent, and determined. They are entitled to insist that the Government shall do its share, within proper lines, toward their protection. Their citizenship warrants this. In these days of frequent international complications a consul must not only look out for the business interests of his countrymen and the revenues of his Government, but it happens now and then that he is called upon to decide an issue which might well puzzle an ambassador. Such emergencies should be anticipated.

Is our present consular system defective? If so, what must be done to improve it?

These inquiries may be considered together; and they can be best answered by a brief review of the position in which we have been placed by our legislation and practices.

Everyone who assumes to discharge any duty holds himself out as possessing, in a fair degree at least, the attainments involved in the fulfilment of the obligation. While it is not uncommon to meet those who merely pretend to capability, it should be rare to find an appointive officer of the class under consideration unfitted to represent his country creditably. If we have many honest and brilliant men in this service, it is a tribute to our resources, and is not in any sense due to the plan we are pursuing. The necessities of commerce primarily suggested the designation of agents abroad. The imposition of duties, the inspection of taxed goods destined for the United States, and the prevention of frauds upon the revenue, have, from an early day, rendered consular examination essential.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the enormous expansion of the commerce of the United States. The statistics of recent years especially are plain and convincing. Our steel manufacturers not long ago demanded high protective tariffs to save them from English and Continental invasion, and to enable them to hold the home market. Now a Member of Parliament asks to be informed why it is that the British Government has purchased steel rails for an East India railroad from a Baltimore concern, and is told that the American article is cheaper

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and as good. So it is in many other lines. It is not only probable, but certain, that our trade will continue to prosper, and that our surplus will meet the shrewd and wide-awake foreigner in the remorseless struggle of untrammelled competition. While, therefore, the consul of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago, owing to the absence of trying demands upon him, might have spent his term without exciting criticism, his attitude now is entirely different. His obligations have not only increased, but have become much more complicated.

Whatever may be the effect of recent international entanglements,—whether or not we shall proceed, as some ambitious and, I beg to submit, over-zealous folks, desire us to do, to raise the Stars and Stripes in distant climes and over alien and non-assimilative races,—it is clear that in any event we shall have more interest in foreign disputes than ever before. Our navy must be increased. Our position as a sea Power is destined to favorable change. With our cruisers and battleships moving in stirring scenes, and our manufacturers, merchants, traders, and tourists soliciting assistance, a new state of things is presented. Consular officers, summoned to advise and act in the face of such issues, ought to be familiar with international affairs and with the rules of conduct governing civilized nations. An officer controlling such a situation should be a man of uncommon intelligence, with little about him indicating the novice. He should be able to shield the American citizen, whether travelling for pleasure, or pausing for business, from undue interference. To him his countrymen must appeal for information and counsel. Is it, therefore, unreasonable to demand that one chosen for such employment should be conversant with the important subjects to which I have just adverted, and should be so trained as to meet the delicate possibilities of his avocation?

We sometimes hear it said that a newly appointed consul is bright and can qualify himself. But how costly may be the errors incident to such qualification. How dearly may we pay for an education which should have preceded incumbency. I do not, however, deem the time spent in obtaining the requisite information as constituting the most serious cause for reflection. The removal from office of a good consul who has become an expert in his business, and who is useful to his country, is always unfortunate, and sometimes disastrous. The naming of men unfamiliar with the language of the locality in which they are to act is inexcusable. Great Britain—always quick to discover fields for the opening of lucrative trade—not only insists upon ample general education and legal attainments, including international law, but requires a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

knowledge of French, and, in many instances, other languages. France, too, is most insistent in this regard; subjecting the candidate to a strict examination, and keeping in view his adaptability to the place to which he seeks to be assigned. Many of our consuls in Mexico and Central and South America cannot speak Spanish; and where this is the case their efforts are seriously hampered. Such a man finds his English, German, and French rivals fully equipped and daily outstripping him in the advancement of home interests. An interpreter may be used; but this method of communication is at best unsatisfactory. A consul thus embarrassed not only encounters obstacles of a social character, but is annoyed on all sides. He feels out of place. The losses which we annually sustain on this account cannot be readily measured, but must be very large. We take notice of patent blunders, but do not observe and cannot know the extent of the injury entailed by the want of competency in our agents to utilize their opportunities.

Whenever a consul is selected, there are personal peculiarities and preferences which ought to be kept in view. One individual may proceed very smoothly and be exceedingly congenial in a certain part of the world, and yet may fail absolutely elsewhere. We have instances showing that naturalized citizens are not always looked upon with favor in the land of their birth. Where there is a local prejudice of this kind, however unreasonable, it cannot be frowned down. Prudence obviates such controversies. I am not by any means convinced that an examination such as that given under civil service rules, or kindred tests, will meet the case. Experience, as well as education, should count materially. What has been said, and much more which might readily be suggested, will suffice to indicate the general scope of the investigation which should precede an appointment. The mode of conducting it is a matter of detail.

Many of our most prominent statesmen have argued for an improved consular service. Secretary Seward deemed knowledge of international law imperative: but his exertions came to naught; and his advice was disregarded by his successor. Secretary Frelinghuysen sought to better the service, and made cogent comments upon it. President Cleveland more than once endeavored to convince Congress of the irrational and ineffectual nature of existing methods; and on September 20, 1895, an Executive Order was issued, providing that when any vacancy occurred in consular or commercial agencies, where an annual salary of not more than $2,500 nor less than $1,000 was paid, the same should be filled by transfer or promotion, or by the appointment of a person selected

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after examination. Mr. Cleveland very pertinently noted the growth of our interests in foreign lands, the encouraging prospects of the general expansion of our commerce, and the obvious propriety of stimulating these interests.

During the last Congress several measures were considered by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with reference to this topic; and, while there were differences of view, the general scheme outlined involved appointment after examination, required qualifications as to general history,—with special regard to treaties,—some familiarity with constitutional and international law, as well as geography, arithmetic, English, and, in some instances, a foreign language. These measures never advanced beyond a favorable report.

The fact, that nothing definite has been accomplished during the present Congress, must not be taken as manifesting indisposition or waning interest. The presence of war, with its problems, fully explains the delay. When normal conditions are restored, it is believed that this vital matter will be thoroughly discussed and satisfactorily settled.

It cannot be denied that we have many very excellent men in the service; and the Consular Reports issued by the State Department disclose research, ability, and loyalty to duty. It is remarkable that so many who are efficient remain in an employment which is precarious, and by no means munificently rewarded. After all, the leading defect, the cardinal vice, of the present consular system consists in the uncertainty of tenure. Take the case of a most competent appointee, glowing with enthusiasm, and anxious to distinguish himself in his chosen career. He enters upon his duties among strangers, remote from his home, unfamiliar with the customs, habits, and idiosyncrasies of those with whom he is to deal. He familiarizes himself with the local language, and diligently prosecutes his labors; finally mastering all details, and becoming known and appreciated among his neighbors. His tastes lead him to make uncommon exertions. While the salary is small, he is satisfied because of his adaptability to the routine of his station. He enjoys the work. Every day something novel presents itself. He discovers that there are openings for home products. He promptly notifies those interested, and apprises American manufacturers of the advisability of sending goods of a certain kind in harmony with the fashion or wishes of customers. He is recognized as an exceedingly efficient man. Older heads from other lands appreciate in him a dangerous opponent. He is benefiting his country. But there is a change of administration. The once-dominant party is overthrown; and, as soon as the patronage-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mill is put in working order, someone who has rendered, or claims to have rendered, party service arises and declares that he wishes or must have this particular consulate. The President is absorbed in important affairs. He is expected to follow the time-worn, if not honored, practices of his predecessors.

The new aspirant is successful; and his name is sent to the Senate. The ancient programme is carried out, confirmation follows, and the competent, ambitious, and painstaking consul is removed, to give place to a novice. Whether the last man be or be not competent is quite immaterial: his fate will be the same. Is it rational to expect good results from such a system? Is there any incentive to patriotic effort in all this? It is astonishing that under these conditions anyone cares to devote himself to a consular life. There is, as I have said, no monetary inducement; and, if opportunities for compliance with a laudable desire to engage in the pursuit of an honorable calling are taken away, not a single attractive feature remains, and there is nothing left to induce improvement in any direction.

I venture to assert that there are ambitious young men in almost every community, excellently educated, not only possessing ordinary college acquirements, but also experienced practically in every-day affairs, who would delight in devoting themselves to the diplomatic and consular services, and would take the greatest pleasure in exploring a region so rich in possibilities. But our system not only deters, but in most cases prevents, any such indulgence. When Americans of this class are compelled to choose an avocation, they, as a rule, eliminate consular life. They know that, if they are successful in an application, the incumbency will be short, and the realization transitory.

American consuls are not infrequently compelled to determine important judicial questions. In such instances they usually reach conclusions without specific instructions. They may be suddenly invited to solve difficulties without time to receive advice from the seat of government. Life or death, war or peace, are sometimes dependent upon their learning, diplomacy, and judgment. When a nation becomes involved in extreme complications, it is the custom to turn over the business of the consulate to a friendly official neighbor. In this procedure there is involved much delicate and important negotiation. It is not easy to fix limits to the responsibilities that may be assumed by such an officer. Learning derived wholly from books or schools, a brilliant intellect unaided by experience, will not suffice in such a contingency. Actual knowledge of all pertinent facts incident

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the particular jurisdiction is not only useful, but requisite. Is it not worse than absurd to spend the time and money of the individual and of the nation in qualifying one for expert work, only to relegate him to private life in order that room may be made for another who must serve a similar apprenticeship?

This is not the case of an ordinary official. The duties are peculiar; the situation, unique. It is notorious in Congressional circles that States which are able to keep the same representatives from year to year are more potential, and obtain concessions and favors not granted to commonwealths represented by new men. The removal of a consul without cause does positive injury to the public. It is impossible to have an efficient service if constant changes occur. This is as true here as in the military service. Whatever may be the case as to other positions, consuls should be relieved from the "scramble for place" which occurs every four years.

The bad policy against which I protest will be better comprehended when it is remembered that there are now about 330 principal consuls and some 400 consular agencies. That a tempting opportunity to the spoilsman is presented in the presence of all this patronage, cannot be denied. That the service should not be so impaired, every thoughtful man must declare. Consular agencies are, in the nature of things, of less moment than the principal places. Consular agents are not, strictly speaking, officers of the Government. They are often treated as the employees of the consul by whom they are selected. This circumstance leads to serious abuses. Agencies have been farmed out, sometimes to the lowest bidder; the main consideration being the extent of the emoluments which will be turned over to the principal. Efficiency cannot accompany such a practice. It is vicious. I have had occasion to observe the ills attending this plan. We are entitled to something better.

Our consuls' salaries are small. Of course we encounter the familiar argument, that there is no dearth of candidates at ruling rates. This is quite true. It is also probable that the salaries paid are ample for many of those who aspire. Indeed, a high authority—a gentleman long familiar with the State Department—has remarked that "it very rarely happens that a man offers himself for appointment to the service because he is attracted by its character, or hopes to make it his profession." This declaration does not furnish food for pleasant thought. Not only would the elevation of the service add to the nation's dignity, but it would be a pecuniary gain to an extent difficult of computation.

Persons of means may indeed covet an office otherwise alluring even

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when the emoluments are small; but it is only just that rich and poor alike should be afforded a fair opportunity of contributing their services to the welfare of their country, and the advancement of their legitimate and cherished aspirations. We constantly antagonize the theory, that the good things of earth are the heritage of any class or section; and we preach equality of opportunity, and seek to open the doors to all who are meritorious. Therefore, while the rich occupy a vantage-ground, no one will I trust urge that we should so legislate as to permit poverty to operate as a positive disqualification. It is curious that, although men of great ability and moderate means are often prevented from holding prominent official places by reason of insufficient compensation, yet those who argue for parsimony not uncommonly belong to the class thus injuriously affected. Extravagant salaries are not advisable; but enough should be allowed to enable consular officers to maintain themselves and their families comfortably, and to keep the service in the front rank as to respectability and thoroughness. Where the salary is less than sufficient to pay reasonable house-rent and to supply family necessities, the official cannot be expected to do his best. It is the duty of the patriot to practise self-sacrifice; but men do not always accept place upon this theory. In times of peace it is not to be anticipated that a capable and poor man, whose abilities will enable him to net at home $5,000 or $10,000 a year in an honest calling, will, whatever his tastes, deliberately devote himself and his family to "hard times" in order to build up our trade, or otherwise advance our interests, in South America, Asia, or elsewhere.

There are numerous annoyances incident to consular life under our laws which it is unnecessary to enumerate, but which can be readily obviated. They constitute the lesser evils; and I will not elaborate upon them.

I have in mind a former representative of this country at Tamatave, who was compelled to conduct the trial of a person charged with murder. The defendant was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' incarceration. Our Government made no provision for his detention; and the unfortunate consul, serving in a tropical clime at a small salary, was compelled at his own expense to hold and board the prisoner. He was providentially relieved; for, after several months' imprisonment, his unwelcome charge died. Not a cent has ever been awarded on account of this trial or imprisonment.

Again, travelling expenses are not allowed. In lieu of this an advance of thirty days' salary before leaving the United States, with an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

addition for the time occupied in transit, is permitted. There are posts where the expense of transportation is equivalent to more than one-third of a year's compensation; and when the possibilities of an early removal, with the outlay for the return trip, are contemplated, the hardship of the present system is clear.

It would be interesting to trace and dwell upon the relations existing between consular and diplomatic work, but space will not permit.

I have been told that the imperfections commented upon are due to the negligence of the Executive and the Senate. There may be some justice in this criticism; but it does not reach the core nor touch the real cause of the trouble. The appointing power proceeds as it has proceeded for years. The groove approved by time and Congressional action is followed. When the elections are over anxious office-hunters throng the Capitol, fervid in their detailment of invaluable party toil. The weary Congressman betakes himself to the Executive, and asks that his influential constituent, an "original supporter" of the President, be given something. Position after position is filled; and still the soliciting brigade is but slightly diminished. The President may hesitate, and may entertain the idea that removals ought only to be made for cause; but here is the unbroken practice of years—the virtual law of the case—strongly presented to him by earnest and importunate visitors. He adheres to the beaten track; the Senate acquiesces; and the Opposition party recognizes that the dominant element is entitled to this as a part of the "spoils" said to belong to the victor. Thus the wrong is done, inefficiency wins, logic and patriotism fail, and the new consul goes abroad and "sees the sights."

A change will occur as to these abuses when public sentiment is crystallized in favor of reform, and when the Congress shall enact a statute removing the service—particularly as to tenure of office—from the arena of party passion and party clamor, requiring proper qualifications, and ensuring promotion and advancement for merit. Nor should the question of compensation be overlooked. The service can also be much benefited, as already hinted, in other directions. No country possesses better material for this important work; and I am convinced that the day is not far distant when we shall have a consular service the efficiency and dignity of which will be universally recognized.

STEPHEN M. WHITE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ETHICS OF MODERN WARFARE.

In 1718 an Englishman, James Puckle, secured a British patent for what seems to have been an attempt at a breech-loading, rapid-firing gun. An original feature of the invention was the use of two different breech-plates, one for square bullets, to be used against the Turks, and the other for round bullets, to be used against Christians. It is curious to find two opposing tendencies in the same invention: (1) the desire to construct a gun that should be more effective because more destructive, and (2) a desire to recognize certain ethical distinctions in its use. If a round bullet was too good for a Turk, a square one was too bad for a Christian.

These two tendencies, one operating to make war more destructive, and the other, to mitigate its harshness, are struggling for preëminence to-day as they have been for centuries. War is an evidence of the imperfection of modern civilization. But if we seek proof of the development of the humane sentiment, and of the extension of the sphere of ethics to unethical relations, we may find it in the arts of war as surely as in the arts of peace.

The introduction of new and powerful explosives and of guns of enormous power and range, the application of electricity to submarine mines, the construction of modern battleships and torpedo-boats, the improvements in long-range rifles and rapid-firing guns, and many other inventions invest the whole enginery of war to-day with a terrible destructiveness. The serious student of ethics, not to speak of the cynic, may well ask whether the development of philanthropy, in mitigating the hardships of war, has kept pace with these destructive tendencies, and whether ethics might not be better employed in discouraging such inventions than in palliating their effects. But, without speculating on our distance from the millennium, it is a fact that the sense of obligation between nations, and the recognition of duties to civilization and humanity, have made such progress that war cannot wholly abrogate them.

"Silent leges inter arma" expresses what, until a comparatively recent period in the history of the civilized world, has been the usual effect of war,—not only the suspension of laws, and the annulment of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

treaties, which to some extent still take place, but the disregard of the ordinary ethical relations that obtain in times of peace. "Everything is fair in war" has meant a free rein for fraud, treachery, violence, pillage, devastation, wantonness, and outrage. Under such license the distinctions between private and public property were promptly banished; the rights of combatants or non-combatants, and duties toward the wounded and prisoners of war, were scarcely recognized.

It is hard to see how war can be conducted with humanity and be war. Military disputes are not settled by Quaker guns and sham fights. With all the mitigations that are possible, war will still remain a contravention of the codes and reciprocities of civilization in relation to life and property. The code of the duellist is, however, a great refinement of the savage mode of personal combat. The duellist may kill his antagonist; but he does not mutilate his victim. Neither does he drag his body behind his carriage, like Achilles, nor steal his purse, nor ravage his estate. Likewise duels between nations have not only relations of etiquette and refinement, but profess a broader, nobler code of honor and humanity. Wars may be prosecuted for great ends, and in a righteous spirit. The laws of war rest partly upon a basis of general utility, but also upon the higher demands of justice and humanity. They are the result of the steady growth of usage and precedent among civilized nations, of direct treaty or compact, or of adhesion to propositions formulated by international conventions and conferences.

The laws of war naturally depend much for their faithful application upon the character of the commanders of armies and navies, the discipline which they exercise over their soldiers and sailors, as well as upon the degree of civilization of the countries they represent. Various nations have undertaken to frame codes for the use of their soldiers in time of war. One of the best of these, representing the most modern ideas at the time of its compilation, and framed by one of the highest authorities upon constitutional and ethical principles, is "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," prepared in 1863 by Francis Lieber, LL.D., and revised by a board of officers of which Maj.-Gen. E. Hitchcock was president. The reputation and authority which Wheaton, Story, and Kent secured for American expositions in the general domain of international law were secured by Dr. Lieber in this special field. His work brought the United States to the very front in regard to the ethics and humanities of war. It not only received well-merited praise from writers on international law, but it may be said that it has not been possible to write anything since on the sub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ject without making liberal use of this manual. Bluntschli made it the foundation of his own exposition of the laws of war.

When Russia proposed an international convention, to establish a basis of general agreement, resulting in the Brussels Conference of 1876, the proposed code, says an English writer, was "substantially identical on all points with the code adopted for the American Federal army at the beginning of the Civil War." At the opening of the Conference the President, Baron Jomini, the Russian First Delegate, stated that the basis of the convention offered for discussion was suggested by what took place in the United States during the War of Secession—"the rules of President Lincoln to alleviate the miseries of war being yet fresh in the memory of all." Though President Lincoln did not prepare the rules, as Commander-in-Chief he felt the need of such a code, and knew to whom this work could be committed. Lieut.-Col. Tovey, of the Royal Engineers of the English Army, says the American "Instructions" "are of great value, as having necessarily been prepared with great care, and as having been practically carried out during one of the greatest contests of modern times."

Dr. Lieber's love for great principles gives to this book a broader character than it could have if it were simply a code of arbitrary rules. He not only issues an order, but frequently gives the argument for it. Some of his paragraphs glow like a treatise on transcendental ethics:

> "As martial law is executed by military force, it is incumbent upon those who administer it, to be strictly guided by the laws of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men, for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed.
>
> The law of war does not only disclaim all cruelty and bad faith concerning engagements concluded with an enemy during the war, but also the breaking of stipulations solemnly contracted by the belligerents in time of peace, and avowedly intended to remain in force in case of war between the contracting parties. It disclaims all extortions and other transactions for individual gain, all acts of private revenge or connivance at such acts. . . . Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God.
>
> Ever since the formation and coexistence of modern nations, and ever since wars have become great, national wars, war has come to be acknowledged not to be its own end, but the means to obtain great ends of state, or to consist in defence against the wrong; and no conventional restriction of the modes adopted to injure the enemy is any longer admitted, but the law of war imposes many limitations and restrictions, on principles of justice, faith, and honor."

Since the compilation of the American "Instructions" in 1863, the most notable national and international contributions to the laws of war—setting aside private works and discussions—have been the Geneva

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Convention of 1864, the propositions of the St. Petersburg Conference of 1868, the Brussels Conference of 1876, the code recommended for adoption by the Institute of International Law at its session in Oxford in 1880, and the official manuals compiled by France, Russia, and Holland. Excepting the Geneva Convention, none of these international propositions has been formally accepted by the nations represented in framing them. Taken together, they may be said to express, however, the modern consensus of opinion and sentiment of civilized nations on the laws of war. They differ in details; but their general unanimity is more remarkable than their diversity. It is easier to agree on general principles than on their practical application. There is little difference concerning the principles underlying the conduct of war; but there are many things concerning which no agreement between nations can be effected. Nations are not willing to bind themselves by rules which shall weaken any of their natural or acquired advantages in times of war. Thus England, fearing that the free action of her navy might be restricted, made it a condition, in sending a representative to the Brussels Conference, that the discussions and propositions should be confined to wars on land. The proceedings of that Conference are interesting, not only for what was adopted, but for what was omitted because of no definite agreement.

Lieut.-Col. Davis, of West Point, has ventured to suggest that the American "Instructions," because of their having been written for our Civil War, are not wholly adapted for wars with foreign nations. President Jomini, of the Brussels Conference, on the contrary, pointed out in his opening address that the essential conditions of an international war were represented in our great conflict; and it has been said that during the Franco-German War but one case arose which was not practically covered by the principles or the letter of the American "Instructions." Special questions may develop under new conditions in the present war, but the United States will hardly need to revise its code until such questions arise; and if its officers and soldiers live up to the broad principles as well as to the specific instructions of that code, there is hardly an exigency that cannot be met in a humane and ethical spirit.

One of the first questions arising in the conduct of war is as to the means to be employed. When Odysseus went to an ally to get some poison for his arrows, his more humane and pious friend refused him the request, because it was displeasing to the gods. Even in that remote age, in which little quarter was granted, we may see, in these scruples against the use of poisoned arrows, the glimmer of a new ethical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conception. A warrant did not need to be a death-warrant: to disable the enemy it was not always necessary to kill him. Modern laws are but the fuller development of this idea. Humanity dictates that the results of war shall be attained with as little loss of life as possible. "Modern wars," say the "Instructions" to our armies,

"are not internecine wars, in which the killing of the enemy is the object. The destruction of the enemy in modern war, and indeed modern war itself, are means to obtain that object of the belligerent which lies beyond the war."

While the ethics of modern warfare permit the use of rapid-firing guns, hot shot, and guns of vast range, the supreme object is not to kill for the sake of killing, but to render aggression ineffective and resistance useless. The laws of war do not limit the range of a rifle; but they have something to say as to the character of the ball. By the St. Petersburg Convention, held December 11, 1868, certain of the Powers agreed that explosive bullets of less than four hundred grammes (fourteen ounces avoirdupois) should not be used. It may seem like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, to permit explosive shells and explosive mines while excluding explosive bullets: but the prime object of heavy shells is to reduce fortifications and disable vessels; while explosive bullets, like poisoned arrows, are directed at troops and tend to inflict mortal wounds. In the Franco-Prussian War each side charged the other with using these bullets; but the charges do not appear to have been sustained. If it be true that the expense of these balls had something to do with discouraging their use, we may be grateful that economy is on the side of humanity. It is claimed on behalf of the United States magazine rifle, calibre .30, that, while its effective range is very great, its pencil-like bullet makes a less dangerous wound. But this is disputed. Certainly the piece was not adopted from humanitarian motives.

The French "Manual" for 1884 prohibits

"broken glass, roughened bullets, slugs, small shot, barbed arrows, balls containing lime or glass, and in general every other means which, without exercising a direct influence on the issue of the fight, has only the effect of producing more grievous wounds."

In the seventeenth century the lawfulness of chain-shot was disputed; and curious distinctions were made in regard to hot shot. At the siege of Gibraltar the Spanish said that they refrained from using them because they were unlawful means of defence. It was contended by certain authorities that forts might use hot shot where they were denied to ships of war, on the ground that it was proper to use in de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fence what it was not proper to use in aggression. This fine distinction has long since been ignored. The use of petroleum-bombs and dynamite-guns is now permitted.

In future wars it is certain that balloons will play a great part, not only for purposes of observation and communication, but also for offensive warfare. A balloon, dropping dynamite-bombs over a fort or fleet, would be a powerful agent of destruction. The Germans, it is charged, in the War of 1870, refused to treat as ordinary prisoners of war those captured in balloons: but air-ships with explosives from above are certainly as justifiable as ironclads, torpedo-boats, and submarine mines, or other new horrors which modern civilization permits; and an officer reconnoitring in a balloon should not be treated as a spy.

The poisoning of food, water, or weapons in any way is interdicted, as is also the propagation of contagious diseases in an enemy's country. The cutting off of water-supplies, and attempts to starve the enemy into surrender, have been considered lawful from the earliest times. Though excluding poison, the French permit the mixing of water with substances which make it eventually undrinkable, as a method of preventing its use. In addition to the exclusion of arms causing unnecessary suffering, the Brussels Conference prohibited the murder by treachery of individuals belonging to a hostile nation or army, the murder of an antagonist who has laid down his arms, declarations that no quarter will be given, and the abuse of protective flags or flags of truce.

The French "Manual" of 1884 considers it permissible that

> "the flags, uniform, sounds, or signals of the enemy may be used before the fight as a ruse by which the enemy may be induced to approach or be drawn into an ambuscade."

On the other hand, the American "Instructions" say:

> "The use of the enemy's national standard, flag, or any other emblem of nationality for the purpose of deceiving the enemy in battle, is an act of perfidy by which they lose all claim to the protection of the laws of war. . . . And troops who fight in the uniform of their enemies without any plain, striking, and uniform mark of distinction of their own can expect no quarter."

The "Manual of the Institute of International Law" forbids attacking an enemy "by concealing the distinctive signs of an armed force."

Deception of the enemy by the transmission of false intelligence or the tapping of telegraph lines, is considered lawful. The cutting of telegraph cables may be necessary to prevent communication with the enemy. Lord Wolseley, according to Col. Tovey, recommends the deception of the enemy "by spreading false news among newspaper correspondents, now

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attached to all civilized armies in the field." But army correspondents usually succeed in obtaining a good deal of false news without having it furnished by the commanding general. Concerning the general subject of deception, Dr. Lieber says:

"While deception in war is admitted as a just and necessary means of hostility, and is consistent with honorable warfare, the common law of war allows even capital punishment for clandestine or treacherous attempts to injure an enemy, because they are so dangerous, and it is so difficult to guard against them."

It used to be common to pay head-money to soldiers for the numbers they killed, just as rewards are offered for blackbirds and squirrels. It is hardly a century since this pernicious practice was abolished. Cobden and Joseph Hume protested against the alleged use of these means by the English in Borneo. While in the arts of peace we are several thousand years removed from savagery, in the art of war we are not more than a hundred years away from barbarous practices which would make us blush. The modern distinction between civilized and savage warfare should render inadmissible the employment by civilized nations of savage troops who do not know the laws of war. Heffter puts this practice on the same plane as the use of poisoned weapons. In 1812, as in 1776, the English used the Indians to fight the American forces, with the result that many United States prisoners taken by the Indians were held in captivity until long after the close of the War. Congress passed Acts in 1817 and 1823 providing for the reimbursement of persons having ransomed American captives.

In modern warfare native troops have often been employed who were not more than half-civilized, but who, by reason of being acclimated, and knowing the country in which they operated, made effective soldiers. The right of employing such troops would seem to depend upon the ability of their officers to keep them within the bounds of civilized usage. The French were criticised for employing African troops in 1870.

In no respect has there been a greater amelioration of the horrors of war than in the treatment of prisoners. In early times slavery was their usual destiny; and they were often condemned to servitude for life. The Barbary Powers thrived for centuries on the ransom-money obtained from prisoners taken in piratical expeditions. They were generally treated with some respect due to their rank, and without positive cruelty.

Captivity among the American Indians, though sometimes followed by torture and cruelty, was also marked by a humane and interesting feature. In many cases, especially with young persons, the captive was adopted into the tribe, and became a member thereof, free from servi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tude, and with every right and privilege possessed by native members of the tribe.

It is now curious to turn to the United States "Instructions," and read that

"slavery, complicating and confounding the ideas of property [that is, of a *thing*] and of personality [that is, of *humanity*], exists according to municipal or local law only. The law of nature and nations has never acknowledged it. . . . Therefore, in a war between the United States and a belligerent which admits of slavery, if a person, held in bondage by that belligerent, be captured by, or come as a fugitive under the protection of the military forces of, the United States, such person is immediately entitled to the rights and privileges of a freeman. To return such persons into slavery would amount to enslaving a free person; and neither the United States nor any officer under their authority can enslave any human being."

These "Instructions" were approved April 24, 1863. To read them, one would suppose that no such thing as slavery had ever been recognized by the United States, and that the Dred Scott decision had never been rendered by the United States Supreme Court. Yet it was only four months before—January 1, 1863—that Lincoln issued his final Proclamation of Emancipation, declaring slaves free in the States, or parts of States, then in rebellion; and that Proclamation was not directly based upon the laws of humanity, though undoubtedly instigated by them, but upon military necessity, "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion." Gen. Butler, without caring whether he confounded ideas of property or personality, had solved the difficulty by treating slaves as contraband of war. As a matter of fact there were eight States of the Union in which slavery was not abolished until two years after these instructions to our soldiers, and then by constitutional amendment. But the paragraph shows that Dr. Lieber preferred the laws of humanity to some enacted by the States, and sanctioned by the Supreme Court. He succeeded, therefore, in making a military code which, in regard to slavery, was two years ahead of the Thirteenth Amendment.

The terrible treatment of American prisoners in our War of Independence is a matter of history. Ten prison-ships anchored in Wallabout Bay, Brooklyn, were filled by the British with American prisoners, who were treated with the most shocking brutality. It is estimated in Congressional reports that between 11,000 and 12,000 prisoners perished on these vessels. The mortality of the "Old Jersey," which received the baptism of "Hell," was estimated at five a day. Congress, in 1781, in a resolution, declared that

"no circumstances of the enemy's particular situation can justify this outrage on humanity, it being contrary to the usage and custom of civilized nations thus deliberately to murder their captives in cold blood."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And Gen. Washington was instructed to remonstrate with the proper officers. An article in the treaty of 1785 between the United States and Prussia repudiates the practice of sending prisoners into distant and inclement countries, or of crowding them into close and obnoxious places, and prescribes various humane regulations for their treatment. In modern usage the prisoner of war is a prisoner of the Government, and not of the captor, as for many centuries he was considered to be. He may be confined to prevent escape, but must not be subjected to indignity or cruelty. "The enemy," says Hall, "has been captured while performing a legal act; and his imprisonment cannot consequently be penal." It was an early custom for states to pay the cost of the maintenance of their prisoners in an enemy's country. The expectation was that at the close of the war such amounts would be repaid. The French National Convention of 1793 authorized the payment to prisoners of sums equal to those received by the French soldiers of equal rank. During the war of 1870 the French, in reply to a charge that they were not treating their prisoners of war properly, showed that the allowance they made to prisoners was much more liberal than that paid by the Germans.

The subjects of a hostile Power within the territory of the other are liable to seizure and detention as prisoners of war. Napoleon is said to have shut up 10,000 English in prison as a retaliatory measure for the seizure of French ships. During the Crimean War Russians were allowed to live without molestation in France and England. In 1870, French citizens were allowed to reside in Germany; but Germans were ordered off the soil of France. This was an unusual and indefensible act.

Prisoners may be shot while trying to escape; but the law of war does not justify punishment or execution for attempts at escape, though a more rigid confinement may follow. It seems to be generally agreed that prisoners of war may be required to work with due respect to their rank. Hall makes the distinction that such work should have no direct relation to the war. Prisoners are sometimes allowed to work on their own account. In the Franco-German War of 1870, Germany had an immense number of prisoners thrown upon her hands at short notice, whom she was not prepared to receive. It was inevitable that they should undergo hardships at first, for lack of sufficient food and shelter; but the German troops in the field underwent almost similar hardships. Later the French prisoners transported to German soil were treated with great kindness.

According to Sir Travers Twiss, it seems not improbable that hu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manity is indebted to the Dutch for initiating the modern practice of exchanging prisoners whilst war is proceeding. At first this exchange was made for a money equivalent, afterward for a personal equivalent based upon the relative rank and number of the prisoners exchanged. A vestige of the remote practice of ransom seems to be still recognized in the United States "Instructions," in which it is said:

> "The surplus number of prisoners of war remaining after an exchange has taken place is sometimes released, either for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, or, in urgent cases, of provision, clothing, or other necessaries. Such arrangement, however, requires the sanction of the highest authority."

It would be interesting to know if this was ever done in the late war. An exchange of prisoners is not obligatory; but it is evident that it may often be a matter of great convenience to both parties.

A less common form of release is by parole, which may take various forms, but is generally a pledge of the released person not to serve during the continuance of the war. Privates and non-commissioned officers cannot give their parole, except through commissioned officers; and even these must obtain the consent of superior officers within reach. Lists of the paroled are kept; and the breaking of a parole is punishable by death. The modern interpretation of the parole is, that it refers only to service in the field, and does not forbid the paroled person to work for his Government in an administrative capacity, or even to drill recruits or fortify places not besieged.

In his famous description of the Battle of Waterloo, Victor Hugo has painted a grim picture of the ghouls that stalked over the battle-field at night; adding to the horrors of war by looting the wounded and by cutting off the fingers of the dead, to obtain rings and jewelry. We need not go back so far. Eye-witnesses of great European battles prior to 1870 have described the terrible scenes which ensued when the wounded were left for two or three days upon the field, racked with thirst and pain, and exposed to the human, but inhumane, vultures who followed every camp. It was the experience of a noble-minded Swiss gentleman, M. Henri Dunant, on the field of Solferino in 1859, which led, through the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross, to the greatest change which, by international agreement, has taken place in the treatment of the wounded on the field of battle. The field-work of the Red Cross was practically anticipated by that gigantic organization, the United States Sanitary Commission, in its remarkable work during the Civil War. With its branches, it expended the equivalent of $19,000,000. Other volunteer organizations swelled the amount to $70,000,000.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Archdeacon (now Dean) Farrar, in an article in "Macmillan's Magazine" for 1869, says: "No country has equalled America in the care of its own wounded soldiers."

The Sanitary Commission did not confine its work to Union soldiers. Its duties were fulfilled in a broad, humanitarian spirit. Though a volunteer society, it had the authority and sanction of the Government. The real contribution of M. Dunant to martial philanthropy was not in organizing national or international volunteer relief corps,—for the Geneva Convention did not contemplate volunteer relief societies, and, indeed, makes no provision for them,—but rather in securing the neutralization of hospitals, ambulances, medical service, and chapels on the field of battle. The Convention provided the Red Cross badge as a badge of neutrality; and the *brassard*, or armlet, was to be issued only by military authorities on either side. It also extended protection to the inhabitants of an invaded country who should succor the wounded. Nevertheless, the practical result of the Convention and of the philanthropic efforts based upon it was the organization of volunteer aid societies in every country, to supplement the regular medical service in time of war. These societies, like our own, were primarily organized to meet the wants of the nation by which they were formed. But the spirit of philanthropy could not be bound by national lines. The War of 1870 was remarkable for the astonishing amount of money, supplies, and service furnished to the wounded from neutral sources. The British Society was formed under royal patronage, and spent $1,000,000 for the relief of the wounded. A similar amount was sent from the United States; and English and American surgeons worked together on the battle-field. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Russia, Sweden, and Italy all sent stores and surgeons to both belligerents. But all this neutral service was accepted "solely by favor of the commanders of the armies engaged," and not because it was stipulated in the Geneva Convention. The giving of help by neutrals to belligerents in the way of stores and supplies may create serious complication in war; but in the War of 1870 the spirit of philanthropy swept aside all technical distinctions. On sea, hospital ships have been brought under the scope of the Geneva Convention; and the United States and Spain have accepted a *modus vivendi* in regard to them.

While the question, "Who may relieve the wounded in time of war?" is answered by a generous and humane extension of privilege, the answer to the question, "Who may kill in war?" has been narrowed in modern contests. Theoretically, the citizen of a hostile country is an enemy. In early times he was practically so regarded. In modern

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

times, though the theory remains for the sake of logical symmetry, the practice is wholly different. The distinction is made between combatants and non-combatants; and "the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person and property as much as the exigencies of war will admit." Non-combatants secure this immunity only by refraining from participation in battle. Hence the practical need of uniforms to distinguish soldiers from citizens.

Irregular troops, not acting under authority, are treated as brigands. In 1813 the French treated the Prussian militia as such. In 1870 the Prussians, on the other hand, refused to recognize as regular troops the French Francs-Tireurs. Bismarck explained that they were not sufficiently uniformed to be distinguished from ordinary citizens. Dr. Lieber, in a valuable paper on guerilla parties, says: "It must be remembered that a uniform dress is a matter of impossibility in a levy *en masse.*" Many Southern soldiers had no uniform; but they were treated as prisoners of war. A national guard should have some distinguishing badge, and ought to act under direct authority and under oath to conform to the laws of war. There is still much difference of opinion as to levies *en masse;* but the Institute of International Law recognizes as part of the armed force of the state "the inhabitants of non-occupied territory who, at the approach of the enemy, take arms openly and spontaneously, to resist an invader, even if they have not had time to organize."

While taking every precaution against freebooters and brigands, it has been customary to accord to insurgents the rights of prisoners of war. When the Governor-General of Cuba, in 1871, issued a proclamation threatening death to insurgents with arms in their hands, Secretary Fish protested against it, "as at variance with the practice of Christian civilized states in modern times."

The law of war permits retaliation; but it is not to be carried to barbarous or inhuman extremes. Spies and traitors are not exchanged; but they should not be put to death without trial by a military tribunal. Unauthorized communication with the enemy is considered treasonable.

On the subject of bombardment theory and practice are not in accord. The great majority of the people in a fortified city are non-combatants, and, as such, are presumed to be free from attack. Theoretically, the best writers, supported by the Brussels Conference, contend that bombardment should be directed against the works only and not against the city. The Germans, however, bombarded Strasburg for two days; doing great damage to the cathedral, the picture-gallery, and other pub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lic buildings. Von Moltke defended the action: other writers have severely condemned it. The Brussels Conference laid down the rule, that fortified places alone are liable to be besieged, and that open or undefended towns should not be bombarded. At times it may be impossible for a commander to reduce forts without firing into a city or town. In that case, humanity demands that notice of the bombardment should be given, and the non-combatants permitted to leave.

In this article I have considered the rules of modern warfare mainly with reference to the means permitted, and their relation to human life. I have not space to show to what extent they affect property; but as in relation to life the rules of modern warfare are more humane, so in relation to property they are more just. Both life and property are held subordinate to the purpose for which war is waged. It is not the object of a war wantonly to destroy either. All useless destruction of property is prohibited. It is conceded that an enemy must contribute to the expenses of a war. The treaty between the United States and Prussia of 1785 provided that any property taken should be paid for at a fair price. The Germans made vast requisitions in France; but they were made in writing, and receipts were given, so that owners might be reimbursed by communal or national funds. Wellington in India ordered that grain be paid for before being taken. Whatever the hardships of requisition, they do not compare with the evils of the indiscriminate pillage and brutality which formerly prevailed. The general testimony is that the German troops in France respected the rights of private property to a great degree. The United States "Instructions" forbid, under penalty of death, all wanton violence, all destruction of property not commanded by an authorized officer, all robbery, pillage, and sacking; and

"a soldier, officer, or private, in the act of committing such violence, and disobeying a superior ordering him to abstain from it, may be lawfully killed on the spot by such superior."

So far as usage between belligerents is concerned, the subject of private property at sea stands on a different basis from private property on land. While private property on land is respected to a considerable extent,—the enemy taking only that which is necessary for his use,—private property at sea, on the other hand (with occasional qualms of the international conscience), has been considered a fit prey for appropriation by the enemy, or for wanton destruction. The practice of giving prize-money incidentally helps to perpetuate this form of piracy. The difference in the usage has been justified by Wheaton, Dana, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

English writers. Their arguments are traditional rather than ethical. Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison took a different view, and believed there was no ethical basis for the distinction. The Treaty of 1785 between the United States and Prussia, negotiated by those illustrious statesmen, expressed their ideal. It not only provided for the payment of all requisitions made on land, but allowed all merchant vessels to pass free and unmolested. On the vexed subject of contraband of war, it provided for full compensation for everything used, including a reasonable compensation for the detention of vessels when necessary. In 1823 France, in her war with Spain, refrained from capturing the Spanish mercantile marine. Germany, in 1870, announced her determination to respect private property at sea; but, France not reciprocating, she withdrew her proclamation.

The rights of neutrals at sea, which were once wholly disregarded, are now sufficiently protected. Neutral goods under an enemy's flag, and the enemy's goods under a neutral flag, with the exception of contraband of war in both cases, are protected. "Contraband of war," however, has been extended to include coal and many other things; and Benjamin Franklin's high notions as to paying for it are abandoned. The provisions of the treaty with Prussia have long since expired. England still determinately sets her face against the change. In a treaty, however, between the United States and Italy, of 1871, this early principle of American diplomacy is thus reasserted:

> "The high contracting parties agree that, in the unfortunate event of a war between them, the private property of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party; it being understood that this exemption shall not extend to vessels and their cargoes which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of either party."

Is it too much to hope that this principle, which even Napoleon conceded to be just, shall eventually be recognized the world over?

There was a time when the cry, "Free goods make free ships," was derided; but that battle has been won for civilization. M. Rolin-Jacquemyns has well said:

> "It has always been thus in the development of international as of national law. Few liberal reforms have succeeded without the initiative of a nation or of a party interested to make them succeed."

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISTURBED BY AN INSECT.

On February 5, 1898, the Emperor of Germany issued a Decree prohibiting the admission of American fruits and living plants into Germany. A day or so later a shipment of California pears arrived at the port of Hamburg, and was refused admittance. The fact was telegraphed to American newspapers; and there was much excitement both in horticultural and in official circles. The newspapers were short of "news" at the time; and the general interest was intensified by the more or less sensational articles published.

For some days there was no knowledge in this country of the wording of the Decree; and, beyond the fact that it was understood that the introduction of injurious insects from America was feared, no reason for its promulgation could be assigned. The general impression seemed to be that the Decree was issued at the instigation of the Agrarian party in Germany, and that it was to be considered as a retaliatory measure against the United States for certain Tariff legislation by this country. All the early articles published in the United States protested vigorously against the enactment, and insisted that there was no ground for it, since the danger to Germany from American insect pests was purely imaginary.

Californians were particularly indignant; and interviews with the Congressional representatives of that State, published in Washington, reported that California especially prided herself on the cleanness of her fruit, and upon the vigorous measures which, for a number of years, she had taken to prevent the introduction of injurious insects within her boundaries. It was reported in the newspapers that vigorous diplomatic correspondence between the two Governments ensued, and that Ambassador White was instructed to protest energetically against the edict, and to endeavor to secure a modification of its terms.

It was not long, however, before the text of the Imperial Decree became known; and it was then found that the particular insect aimed at was the San José scale (*Aspidiotus perniciosus*). It was further learned that the German Government was fully informed as to the habits of this injurious insect, its startling spread in the Eastern States during the past

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

few years, and the legislation which several States had enacted in the effort to exterminate it, or at least to limit its spread. Publications of the agricultural experiment stations of the different States and of the United States Department of Agriculture had been read by the officials of the German Government; and these officials were quite as fully informed about the American insect as were the officials of our own Government, with the exception, perhaps, of the Secretary of Agriculture.

These facts having been learned, it became at once apparent that, even if the Decree had some ulterior retaliatory motive, it was certainly the misfortune of the United States that Germany had so good an excuse.

Persons interested in horticulture had known the remarkable history of this scale insect for some time. They knew that, introduced from some unknown region, it made its appearance in the vicinity of San José, California, late in the seventies; that it spread rapidly over the State of California; and that it was soon known as the most dangerous enemy to deciduous fruit-trees on the Pacific Coast. They further knew that it was unwittingly brought to the East upon nursery stock in 1887 or 1888, by two innocent nurserymen living in New Jersey, and that its presence in the Eastern States was not discovered until five or six years later, when it had already been spread far and wide upon shipments of young trees.

In fact so great an industry has the sale of nursery stock become during recent years, and so rapid is the multiplication of this insect, that, without another introduction of the scale from California, the product of the two introductions into the East had in six years been spread through portions of almost every one of the Eastern and Middle States. The scale established itself at almost every point where it was introduced, with the exception of certain northern localities, where the climate appears to have been too cold for its development; and it multiplied so excessively as to cause the death of thousands of trees before its presence became known.

In the summer of 1893 it fell to the lot of the writer of this article to discover the distressing fact that this most pernicious insect had become established in the Eastern States. The scale came to him upon a pear grown at Charlottesville, Virginia, to which point it had been brought some years previously upon currant-bushes purchased from one of the New Jersey nurserymen above-mentioned. Its presence in other localities was discovered the following season; warning publications were issued to fruit-growers and nurserymen; and year after year discoveries of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its occurrence in unsuspected regions have multiplied, until at present there is hardly an important fruit-growing region in the United States which is not directly threatened by the pest.

In the meantime there has been the greatest activity with regard to the insect on the part of economic entomologists, agricultural and horticultural societies, agricultural journals, and State organizations. In the five years which have elapsed since its discovery, the literature relating to this insect has become enormous. Its bibliography already comprises several hundred titles of permanent record, and several thousand titles in ephemeral publications. It has occupied the attention of nearly every meeting of farmers and fruit-growers that has been held in the Eastern States for the past four years, from the village club to the great State horticultural or agricultural society; it has been the exciting cause of a national convention of fruit-growers, farmers, entomologists, and nurserymen; it has been the subject of legislation in sixteen States of the Union; and its suppression is the principal object of two Bills now before Congress.

With all this disturbance in our own country, with all this widespread publicity, necessitated by the threatened danger to one of our greatest industries, is it any wonder that foreign Governments should have taken alarm? And, viewing the matter dispassionately, is the German Government to be blamed for an effort to protect its horticultural interests?

It is true that in her desire to prevent most effectually the introduction of the insect, or possibly to utilize the emergency to its fullest extent in the way of deterring American imports, Germany has gone further than the situation warranted. The early interpretation of the Decree, to cover the case of dried fruits, was certainly unwarranted by what we know of the life-history of the insect. Even the disbarment of all fresh fruit was in a measure unwarranted; but it must in justice be said, that the subsequent modification of the edict, so as to confine the absolute prohibition to living plants,—fresh fruit being prohibited only when inspection shows it to be affected by living scale,—indicates that Germany is disposed to deal fairly with the United States in this matter.

As was to be expected, the action of Germany immediately called the attention of other nations to the danger which similarly threatened them. Canada had already had under consideration the subject of the prohibition of living plants imported from the United States; and on March 18, 1898, an Act, known as the San José Scale Act, passed the Canadian Legislature. By the terms of this Act the importation of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living plants—commonly called nursery stock—from any countries or places designated by the Governor-General in Council was prohibited. An Order in Council immediately followed, placing the United States, Australia, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands under the ban. Another Order of Council, issued the same day, exempted from the provisions of the Act greenhouse plants, with the exception of roses, herbaceous perennials, herbaceous bedding-plants, all conifers, bulbs, and tubers.

A month later the Government of Austria-Hungary issued a Decree simultaneously at Vienna and Budapest prohibiting the importation into that country from America of living plants, grafts, and layers, as well as the packings and coverings of such plants. In this Decree, however, the importation of fresh fruit was not prohibited; but an inspection at the Austro-Hungarian custom-house was provided for, coupled with the announcement that such fruit would be excluded if the presence of San José scale were proved.

Following this Decree of Austria-Hungary, the Government of the Netherlands sent to the United States one of the most eminent scientific men in Holland, Dr. J. Ritzema Bos, for the purpose of investigating the status of the San José scale. Upon his report will probably depend the passage of a Bill, now before the Second Chamber of the States-General, prohibiting the entrance of fruits and living plants from America into the Netherlands. About the same time, an employee of the Agricultural Department of Sweden, Dr. Yngve Sjöstedt, was also sent to the United States, partly for the purpose of investigating this much-talked-about insect. The same matter has been discussed in official circles in other European countries, including England; but no definite action has been taken. All this foreign legislation is having and will continue to have a distressing effect upon American exports of fruits and living plants; but, if our Government is as apt as usual, we shall learn from this experience a lesson of value.

It was necessary, of course, in order to protect our internal interests, that a hue and cry should be issued from the National Department of Agriculture and from the experiment stations of the different States as soon as the extreme danger of the spread of the insect in the Eastern States was realized; and it was necessary also that fruit-growers should be constantly informed of the progress of the pest, as well as of the results of the experimental remedial work which was being carried on by our State and National Governments. Therefore, with all this publicity, it was only a question of time when foreign Governments should take alarm, and at least begin to investigate the possibilities of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

danger to their own fruit-growing industries. That Germany was the first Government to gain exact information on the subject, and the first to take action, was due to the fact that for some years she had had a scientific man of ability and standing attached to her embassy at Washington. This attaché, stationed there for the sole purpose of studying everything relating to American agriculture, was all along as well posted in regard to the spread of the San José scale as were our own Government officials; and through his efforts Germany was able to issue the Decree at what seemed to be the proper moment.

This would obviously suggest to our own Government a similar policy; and it is interesting to note that as early as 1892 the Secretary of Agriculture strongly urged in his annual report to the President that representatives of the Department of Agriculture should be attached to our legations in the principal countries with which we have agricultural relations. The present Secretary, Mr. Wilson, has repeatedly advocated such a course since the beginning of the existing Administration.

How long the present embargo against American plants and fruits will continue in effect it is impossible to foretell; but, apart from all thought of retaliation, it is plain that foreign nations are just beginning to do what we ourselves might long ago have done with advantage. The majority of our principal insect pests are of foreign origin; and many of them might have been prevented from entering our ports, had there been at least a national system of quarantine and inspection such as is now carried on successfully by the State of California at the port of San Francisco.

L. O. HOWARD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY UNDER THE REIGN OF FRANCIS JOSEPH.—I.

On December 2, 1898, it will be fifty years since the Emperor Francis Joseph ascended the throne of Austria; and everywhere throughout the Empire the people are already beginning to prepare for the Golden Jubilee. It is needless to say that the celebration will be truly popular, and the ovation well-merited. The well-known words of Horace, "Integer vitæ scelerisque purus," may, without flattery, be applied to our Emperor; and it would be difficult to find anywhere a man more faithful and kind and just than he.

Despite this veneration for the person of the monarch, however, the strife between the various national elements composing the Empire will probably tend to mar the forthcoming festivities. It is true that thirty-two years of peace—unprecedented in the history of Austria—have resulted in an unparalleled material prosperity. But people demand something more than mere bread: they desire to develop according to their specific endowments; and for this purpose they require internal peace. Although forty years have passed since the inauguration of constitutional government,—to the conditions of which Francis Joseph has steadfastly adhered,—internal peace has not yet been secured. The relations between the two main divisions of the Empire, *i.e.*, Hungary, on the one hand, and Cisleithania[1] (Austria proper) on the other, have now reached a critical stage. Both divisions of the Empire are quarrelling over their relative contributions to the national fund. Cisleithania refuses to bear the burden of 70 per cent for the next ten years; while Hungary is unwilling to contribute in excess of the rate which it has been accustomed to pay for the last thirty years, viz., 30 per cent.

In the interior of Hungary there exists an intense hatred of the foreign elements,—Rumanians, Transylvanians, Germans, Servians, Croatians, etc.,—as well as of denationalization and centralization. In Croatia and Lower Hungary the small farmers of the Slavonic and Magyar races

[1] Cisleithania, *i.e.*, all the territory on this side of the River Leitha, is officially designated as "all the kingdoms and lands represented at the Imperial Diet at Vienna."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have repeatedly risen against the large landowners. The Conservatives and the Clericals of all nationalities are now fiercely opposing the domination of the Magyar and Jewish Liberals,—a domination which has existed since 1867. By a measure introduced into the Diet by the Count Badeni, the Bohemian language was given an official importance equal to that of the German; and, in consequence, the old hatred between the Germans and Czechs broke out anew. By reason of a hitherto unheard-of obstructionary attitude on the part of a Liberal minority, a parliamentary majority was debarred from passing a resolution. Riots occurred in the streets of Vienna and Prague; and the parliamentary machinery of the government was brought to a standstill.

At present the figures, in an attitude of flight, surmounting the four corners of the Capitol at Vienna, are nothing more than an extremely successful symbolization of dissensions which divide the nations and parties represented at the Austrian Capitol. It is not astonishing, therefore, that our political ravens are once more croaking their "Finis Austriæ"; nor is it surprising that the foreign Powers of both hemispheres are asking in alarm: "What will be the end of all this? Will Austria succeed in maintaining permanently her position as a useful member of the Triple Alliance?" These questions are perfectly justified. As it is extremely difficult for foreigners to follow the drift of political opinion in Austria, the Editor of THE FORUM has requested me to present my views on the subject.

I find it necessary to say at the outset that I am not at all of the opinion that the end of Austria is near. Indeed, having followed the development of our political parties for the last forty years, and, since 1871, from an entirely non-partisan standpoint, I find very little justification for the pessimistic views entertained by many. Nor do I base my argument upon the ancient prophecy, "Austria erit in orbe ultima." The present age, which has become accustomed to political revolutions, is no believer in ancient prophecies. My opinions are based upon the political nature of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy itself, and upon the varied character of its numerous lands and nationalities. In short, I have arrived at my conclusions after a close study of our entire historical development, and a life-long observation of our national tendencies. It is upon this basis, therefore, that I venture to express the belief that we shall eventually find an outlet from the labyrinth of party-complications in which we have been immeshed for the past thirty years. I do not share the fears of those who regard as imminent a revival of the absolutism of Schwarzenberg and Bach during the period

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1850–1860; nor do I fear a return of the old-time conservative federalism.

Neither constitutionalism—introduced into Austria proper in 1860, and into Hungary in 1867—nor dualism of government is responsible for the present complications. The responsibility lies not in the system itself, but in the mode of administration. Since the Schwarzenberg-Bach system was overthrown at Magenta and Solferino, and later, so far as Hungary was concerned, at Königgrätz, constitutional Austria has been centralized and Germanized by the bureaucracy in union with the Liberalistic moneyed aristocracy; while constitutional Hungary has been centralized and Magyarized by the nobility and gentry in union with the capitalists, principally of the Hebrew race. The majority of non-German and non-Magyar nationalities, according to the recipe of Count Beust, were to be "pushed to the wall." The Conservatives and the Clericals were to be kept down by the Liberals; and the small farmers and wage-earners were to be debarred from all participation in the affairs of the administration: they were regarded as suitable objects of plunder and oppression. The means employed to this end were: (1) The establishment of a high property qualification for voters; (2) the arbitrary exercise of official power; the influence of the landed proprietors and of the moneyed aristocracy being everywhere utilized in the administration of the *Grafschaften* (counties); and (3) the false nimbus of a fictitious freedom, with which the press ever sought to surround the principal figures of the ruling parties. Not dualism therefore, but the Austrian *Quote* (quota) involved in it; not constitutionalism, but its prostitution for the purpose of Germanization and Magyarization; not the liberties sacredly guaranteed in the Austrian constitution to all citizens, regardless of creed, class, or nationality, but the failure to carry out the provisions of the law,—these are the causes which have engendered those racial and religious dissensions with which our country has been afflicted for over forty years.

The present is the most serious crisis since that of 1860. The exaggerated patriotism and delirious national ravings of our Slavs, Magyars, and Germans have never manifested themselves with such intensity as at present. These conditions may be productive of serious consequences, and may, perhaps, endanger our credit abroad; but there is absolutely no reason to fear that these complications foreshadow the end of Austria. Only an extremely superficial observer would compare the present situation with that of 1848. The Austria-Hungary of to-day, as developed under the reign of Francis Joseph, is a new empire.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In its foreign relations it need no longer contend against the enmity of Italy and Prussia; while, within the Empire itself, the value of constitutional government, as opposed to absolutism, is now everywhere recognized. The Austrian Empire is by no means *in extremis*. Prince Gortschakoff, who once declared Austria to be a cadaver, already in a state of putrefaction, was eventually convinced—at the famous Berlin Conference of 1878—by Count Andrassy of the fallacy of his diagnosis. Equally erroneous was the opinion of that Bavarian statesman who declared Austria to be "an annex to the Turkish Empire,"—in other words, "Turkey number two." Notwithstanding these assertions, the house of Habsburg has not become moribund under the Emperor Francis Joseph; and the proverbial "sick man" at Constantinople furnishes the strongest example of what would ensue, were Austria removed as a factor in European politics.

Imagine the political upheaval which would be caused by a partition of the Austrian Empire! Far more pertinent than the above-quoted opinions is the assertion of the great historian Palacky: "Even if it were not already in existence, an Austrian Empire would have to be established, not only to insure the welfare of the numerous nationalities involved, but also to secure the peace of Europe." The means of escape from the maze in which we are at present entangled are apparent to every calm observer. Constitutionalism must gradually turn from the path which it has hitherto pursued; and our entire population, irrespective of creed, class, or nationality, must be admitted to an equal participation in the privileges accorded by law. This is the only way in which internal peace may be secured, and the true Germanization and Magyarization of the dual Empire finally consummated. A brief survey covering the development of the electoral franchise since 1860 will, I think, inspire us with the hope that the problem, now so perplexing, will, sooner or later, be unravelled by some skilful statesman.

I have presented my fundamental view of the question, and shall now enter upon a closer analysis of it, by briefly tracing the course of political events during the reign of Francis Joseph. Such a survey will afford us a clearer conception of current issues, such as the "Quota" and the Czech-German controversy; while, at the same time, it will give us a glimpse into the future. What, then, in the light of history, has been the mission of the Emperor Francis Joseph? This question admits of a very definite answer.

During a period extending into the eighteenth century, Austria, like Prussia, was a conglomerate of loosely connected states. These so-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

called territorial states had been formed by the sovereign princes, by uniting the feudal possessions with the mediæval municipalities. Under the Habsburg dynasty five groups of these lands, or states, were united under one sceptre: (1) The crown lands of St. Stephen, *i.e.*, Hungary, with the neighboring states of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, and the military border-lands; (2) the crown lands of Wenceslaus, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; (3) the two grand-duchies of Upper and Lower Austria (including Vienna), the Alpine lands of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the maritime district bordering on the Adriatic (Triest)—all which are sometimes called the crown lands of Central Austria (Inneroesterreich), and, like the provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, are inhabited principally by Germans; (4) the Austrian possessions in Italy; and (5) the Austrian possessions in the southwestern part of the old German Empire (Vorderoesterreich). At the time of which I speak, the Netherlands had already been lost to the Empire. In consequence also of the numerous wars with France, and the Seven Years' War with Prussia, certain other possessions (Silesia, for instance) had been wrested from the Empire. In compensation for these losses, however, Austria gradually gained possession of other territories: viz., Galicia, on the partition of Poland; Dalmatia, on the dissolution of the Venetian Republic; and Salzburg, by Act of the Vienna Congress.

The first-mentioned territories had really been independent lands or kingdoms. The connection between them lay in the so-called *Personalunion* (personal union), *i.e.*, in the fact that the crowned head of Habsburg was not only Emperor-elect of Germany, but also King of Hungary and of Bohemia, Margrave of Moravia, Archduke, Prince, and Count of the remaining lands. At this time unity of government, administration, and representation did not exist: the Empire of the Habsburgs was merely a medley of the most heterogeneous territories. Whenever matters of national importance were to be transacted—as, for instance, the furnishing of money and men to repel the invasions of the Turks—the individual states sent their accredited representatives (members of the nobility, the clergy, and the municipal magistracy) to negotiate with the sovereign head of the nation.

This territorial form of government of the Habsburg monarchy had already become antiquated toward the close of the seventeenth century. As the sovereign princes had once formed these crown lands by uniting the feudal possessions with the mediæval municipalities, so, from about the beginning of the eighteenth century, these territorial states them-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves were to be welded into a still more comprehensive union, viz., the modern state. A firmly established government, a homogeneous system of administration, and popular representation now became imperative, in order that the modern demands of military defence and commercial intercourse might be fulfilled: in other words, the conditions in Austria pointed to the advent of the modern European state. The *ancien régime* had not become obsolete in France alone. By the time that the great French Revolution had completely obliterated the remnants of the old territorial system of France, the foundations of the modern state had already been laid in Austria-Hungary (during the reign of Maria Theresa), and the struggle between the principle of national union and ancient territorial independence had already been inaugurated.

The work of reconstruction, however, was necessarily slow; for it was conducted by an absolute government and a bureaucracy that wore the unmistakable red-and-yellow livery of the house of Habsburg. The autonomy of the territories, as well as the administration of local affairs, remained in the hands of the nobility, the municipal magistracy, the prince-bishops, the abbots, and the landed proprietors generally. A great body of citizens composed of the commonalty, with right of suffrage and representation, did not yet exist. It was not until the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 that Austria was confronted by the stern mandate of history to break entirely with the *ancien régime*, and to complete the modern state.

The foregoing historical survey not only enables us to form a conception of the task allotted to the present Emperor, but also serves to show that the recent political tangles, the conflict over the German and Czech languages, as well as the fourth compromise with Hungary regarding the "Quota," are merely dark phases of that great and laborious process, the development of the modern constitutional state. It was therefore a twofold problem which was to be solved under the Emperor Francis Joseph: (1) A uniform and equably distributed system of government, legislation, and administration was to be devised, not only for the Empire as a whole (the Federal Government), but also for the separate crown lands, the districts, and the boroughs; and (2) an equable system of constitutional representation was to be established throughout all the subdivisions of the Empire. In short, the principles and institutions of modern constitutionalism were to be thoroughly applied. Such was the colossal twofold task that history had assigned to the present Emperor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The solution of this problem, however, owing to the diversity of creed, nationality, and language, was attended with far greater difficulties in Austria-Hungary than elsewhere. These difficulties were increased by the circumstance that the leadership, both in the German Confederation and in Italy, had been intrusted by the Vienna Congress to the house of Habsburg; thus shifting the political centre of gravity, which should have remained within the Empire itself. Instead of diminishing since 1860, the trials amid which Austria has had to pursue her mission have greatly increased, owing to the inroads of democracy. The democratic movement, in its triumphal march through Central and Northern Europe, also gained a firm foothold in Austria. This was recently demonstrated by the fact that the representatives of universal suffrage captured seventy-two seats in the Vienna Diet. Indeed, democracy has already made its appearance before the barred gates of the Hungarian Reichstag, and is impatiently rapping for admission to those hitherto exclusive precincts of the nobility and gentry of Hungary. Notwithstanding these serious obstacles, however, Francis Joseph has pursued his task with indefatigable industry, inexhaustible patience, and unremitting tenacity.

The development of the modern state in Austria dates from 1848—a period of fifty years. It is true that within this period, Austria, everywhere hampered by serious obstacles, has been outstripped by several neighboring states. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that great portions of the colossal work have been completed. A brief *résumé* of the political events from 1850 to 1860, *i.e.*, during the absolutism of the Schwarzenberg *régime*, and from 1860 to 1898, the constitutional epoch, will, I think, confirm the correctness of the above assertion.

Austria was in a position of extreme danger when, on December 2, 1848, the youthful prince, now our venerable Emperor, grasped the reins of government. These had been placed in his hands by that energetic and talented prince, Felix Schwarzenberg, who had induced the Emperor Ferdinand to resign, and persuaded the next of kin (the father of the present Emperor) to renounce his title to the throne. Lombardy had been lost; and Austria's position in Germany had been endangered by the parliaments at Frankfort and Erfurt. Hungary was in a state of revolution; and the worst was to be feared from her parliament at Debreczin. The Austrian Diet, opened at Vienna in July, 1848, was a picture of confusion. The first attempt to organize Austria as a constitutional state—an attempt brought about by the March revolution—had plainly been a failure. The revolution had been attended with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

considerable bloodshed at Prague and Vienna; while the Hungarian insurgents, who had advanced to the very gates of Vienna, had to be driven back across the Leitha. The Emperor Ferdinand was forced to flee to the Moravian fortress, Olmütz. The seat of the Radical parliament had been transferred from Vienna to the little Moravian town, Kremsier. The Empire was bathed in blood; and the finances were shattered. For a time it appeared that the house of Habsburg had lost everywhere—in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and Austria. The situation was well expressed in the eulogistic words of the poet Grillparzer on Gen. Radetzky: "Austria was nowhere safe in your camp"; and even Radetzky had been driven out of Lombardy, to seek refuge behind the walls of Verona.

In less than three years, however, all this was changed, as if by magic, owing to the victories of Radetzky, the stand of the Czar against the Magyars, and the superior statesmanship of Prince Schwarzenberg. Prince Schwarzenberg was a profound diplomat, possessing an extraordinary knowledge of men and affairs. He successfully overcame all opposition, triumphed over Sardinia, Prussia, England, and Turkey, and over the parliaments at Frankfort, Erfurt, Kremsier, and Debreczin. In 1851 the majority of the Italian and German states were allies of Austria. Her military camps extended from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. On the day of Olmütz, Prussia returned to the German Confederation; while the entrance of Austria into the German Customs Union was assured.

Far greater than these, however, were the achievements of Schwarzenberg in connection with the perfection of the modern system of internal administration. Although the bluest blood of the Bohemian aristocracy flowed in his veins, he stubbornly opposed all the attempts of the nobility to reinstate the *ancien régime*. It is necessary to mention, however, that in his work of levelling, Schwarzenberg was ably supported by several statesmen of great intelligence and superior knowledge, foremost among whom were Stadion, Bach, and Bruck. These were the men who, upon the early death of Schwarzenberg in 1852, carried on the work which their leader had so admirably inaugurated,—the work of sweeping away all the vestiges of an obsolete system of government, and of removing the *débris* left by the revolution. The ground upon which the fabric of the modern state was to be reared had now been levelled. At the close of the decade just mentioned, there was but one ministry, one homogeneous system of government in all the crown lands, one civil law, one penal code, one mode of judicial procedure, one postal-telegraph

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and railway system, one system of taxation, one tobacco monopoly, one customs frontier, and one official language for every part of the Empire —the German. Even the large crown lands were broken up into governmental departments, and formed into provinces under the rule of a governor,—provinces of the size and importance of French prefectures. Every province of the Empire was deprived of its historico-political individuality, of its ancient territorial character. The privileges of the established classes were abolished, as were the tributes which these classes had been accustomed to levy upon the peasantry.

All these changes were devised in order to obliterate all lines of demarcation, so that in time a Hungary, a Bohemia, and a Galicia would cease to exist. This was purest absolutism, the extreme of centralized government. It was, however, the modern state without a popular representative body, but entirely free from every vestige of the *ancien régime*. The labor involved was colossal. This is proved by the eminent statistician of the time, Von Czornig, whose well-known work, "Die Neugestaltung Oesterreichs" (The Reconstruction of Austria), may be read to advantage even at the present day.

Since the time above referred to the innovations effected by Schwarzenberg and Bach as regards the equalization of government have remained materially unchanged. Absolutism, however, could not endure. Austria had incurred the enmity of Italy and Prussia, and, by reason of her attitude of armed neutrality during the Crimean War, that of Russia as well. The movement in favor of a united Italy and a united Germany proceeded, despite the efforts of Austria to thwart it. Within the Austrian monarchy itself the angry mutterings of the entire nation began to be heard. Schwarzenberg was mistaken, if he believed that the national pride of two powerful neighboring states might be offended with impunity, and that the citizens of his own land might be governed with a corporal's *bâton*, a fiddle, and an inkstand. This system was peculiar to the school of centralized government at Vienna—a school which had existed since the days of Maria Theresa. The officials sent out from this school, and denominated "Bach Hussars," were scarcely less offensive to the Austrians than to the Magyars.

Nothing, however, so thoroughly reveals defects in the internal government of a country as a foreign war. This truth Austria was soon destined to realize; for within a few years she became involved in two wars—one with France in 1859, and one with Prussia in 1866. As a result of these wars Austria lost her political *prestige* in Germany and Italy. Simultaneously with these events, however, the Schwarzenberg

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system was overthrown in Austria and Hungary in 1860 and 1867, respectively. By a decree issued October 20, 1860, and by an Act promulgated four months later (February 26, 1861), the Emperor granted a constitution to all the non-Hungarian crown lands of the Empire. The Hungarians received one in 1867. Since these events constitutional government has existed in every part of the monarchy.

During the second period of the reign of Francis Joseph, the principle of centralized power did not entirely disappear; nor was the independence of the several states in internal affairs entirely secured. In the *Ausgleich* (compromise) effected between Austria and Hungary in 1867, both subdivisions of the Empire decided to act in common in all matters relating to diplomacy, the standing army, and the navy. For this purpose three departments were organized, devoted respectively to war, finance, and foreign affairs. Two joint commissions, acting under the name of "delegations," are appointed to regulate mutual expenses and to control the government and administration of imperial affairs. These delegations, each consisting of sixty members, are recruited from the Imperial Council at Vienna (created in 1861) and the reconstructed Hungarian Parliament, respectively. All communication between these parties is carried on in writing (the so-called "Nuntium"); and no measure can be passed without a joint agreement. These delegations hold two conventions annually, one at Vienna and one at Budapest; and their proceedings have hitherto been conducted in a dignified, patriotic, and statesmanlike manner. Although the Imperial Minister of Finance exercises no control over the independent revenues of Austria and Hungary, he, nevertheless, receives all the tariff duties collected throughout the Empire; while the means for all disbursements in excess of the amount thus collected are supplied from the central national funds of Austria and Hungary, respectively. At present the two divisions of the Empire contribute in the proportion of 70 to 30 per cent. Thus we see what is meant by the term "Quota," so frequently employed in connection with this subject. This "Quota" is determined for a period of ten years only; and a term has recently expired. Should the governments and parliaments at Vienna and Budapest fail to arrive at an agreement for the ensuing decade, the Emperor will assume the provisional control of the finances for one year.

Besides the loose federalism which has been maintained between Austria and Hungary, each of these countries has a strong, central, federal government of its own, founded upon the idea of unity established during the Schwarzenberg decade of absolutism. All matters of importance to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

each half of the Empire are conducted independently by the respective ministries and parliaments at Vienna and Budapest. In this way Austria-Hungary has become a dual empire, held together by a few links necessary to imperial unity.

Despite this dualism, however, it has been possible to secure a certain uniformity of system in each subdivision of the Empire in matters other than those already mentioned. I refer to those dealt with by the so-called "Zoll- und Handelsbündniss" ("Commercial and Tariff Union"), which stipulates that the following departments are to be conducted upon the same principles in both parts of the Empire: (1) The Department of Customs—there is to be but one tariff frontier for the entire Empire; (2) the Departments of Commerce and Shipping; (3) the Departments of Coinage, Paper-Money, Weights, and Measures; (4) the Railway, Postal, and Telegraph systems. While unity in these matters was destroyed by the "Compromise," homogeneity has been preserved. This homogeneity is, however, of a very precarious nature; for the Commercial and Tariff Union is formed for a period of ten years only. Unless renewed at the end of that time its conditions are no longer binding, and can be upheld only by the tacit consent of both governments and parliaments of the dual Empire. In these matters, the Emperor is not, as in the case of the "Quota," empowered to exercise a provisional control. The Union has twice been renewed,—on January 1, 1878, and on January 1, 1888, respectively. No agreement, however, was reached on January 1, 1898; consequently, the homogeneity in commercial and tariff regulations, although still existing in fact, is at present entirely unsupported by law.

Both Austria and Hungary—more particularly the latter—are so deeply interested in the maintenance of the Commercial Union, however, that it is scarcely necessary to take a pessimistic view of the present situation. It is true that the Hungarian Autonomists, under the leadership of the younger Kossuth, have recently threatened to establish an independent tariff-frontier for Hungary; in which case the old boundary posts, which fifty years ago extended from Czernowitz to Triest, would once more have to be erected. Such a contingency, however, is extremely doubtful.

It is unnecessary to attach too great an importance to such questions as the "Quota" and the renewal of the Commercial and Tariff Union. As regards the renewal of the "Quota," I consider a modification in the ratio of 36–38 to 64–62 as perfectly equitable to both sections of the Empire.

ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PEOPLE OF HAWAII.

EVERY man has the right to choose his companions; and the fact that his neighbor is not thus chosen does not in itself give that neighbor just cause for complaint. But when, in declining his companionship, a man declares another unfit company for a gentleman, the latter may feel that failure to resent it with proper spirit would be almost equivalent to an admission that the imputation was just. Somewhat similar to this is the position in which the people of Hawaii are placed by certain creators of public sentiment in America.

Hawaii, through her Government, has solicited the privilege of becoming a part of the United States. This proposition has provoked much discussion, both among Americans and among the people of other countries. A great part of this has been temperate and thoughtful. Reasons for and against the annexation of Hawaii have been properly presented. In the course of the controversy many important questions of policy and principle have been raised. The people of Hawaii have neither the right nor the inclination to object to full and free discussion of the matter in all its bearings; and what the final decision will be it is the province of the American people to determine. If the people of the United States, through their chosen representatives, decide against annexing Hawaii, that fact alone will give no one a right to complain. But those public speakers and writers who would spurn us as unfit for, or unworthy of, the citizenship and companionship of the free, enlightened, and highly civilized American people compel us to resent their aspersions; and it is to answer them that I take up my pen. I am not writing in favor of, nor against, annexation, and am under no obligation to make my arguments such as will serve any ends but those of truth.

Perhaps no one class of the people of Hawaii has been more persistently misrepresented and misunderstood than the aboriginal race. Even the degradation in which they were found by their European discoverers, real though it was, has been persistently and greatly exaggerated. They were not cannibals; they did not kill Capt. Cook in an unprovoked attack, nor without justification from their point of view; and they did not dispose of his body according to cannibal custom. They

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

despised cannibalism as sincerely as do the American people to-day. They were passive, without very definite moral standards, bound only by superstitions, childlike, kindly disposed, and, therefore, too easily influenced and led. Their early contact with Europeans and Americans resulted in financial advantage to the foreigners and in moral degradation to all concerned. It threatened to prove fatal to the whole Hawaiian people. But in the course of time there came to these shores from New England and other Eastern States a band of men and women as noble and well-nigh as heroic as those who, two centuries earlier, crossing the wintry seas and landing upon the snow-clad and inhospitable shores of Massachusetts,

> ". . . shook the depths of the desert gloom
> With their hymns of lofty cheer."

They found only a remnant of the population reported by the early discoverers; and, with the proverbial zeal of missionaries, they set about saving that remnant. The same race-characteristics which had made them an easy prey to evil influences now made them especially susceptible to the good.

The story of the sudden conversion of the whole people to Christianity is familiar. But it is not so well known, perhaps, that, within a decade of the landing of the first missionaries, the language was reduced to written form, and a large percentage of the people was able to read and write. It is not so well known as it ought to be that educational interest at that time ran higher here than in the proud State of Massachusetts. It is not fairly recognized in America that the grandparents of the present generation of Hawaiians were literate Christians. It is, perhaps, hardly known that a large percentage of the present generation of Hawaiians read and write the English language in addition to their own, nor that English is now the language of all the schools. I may perhaps be pardoned the introduction of personal testimony.

When first I came among the Hawaiian people, I was surprised to find the school-children able to put to shame, with their knowledge of Garfield, Grant, Lincoln, Washington, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismarck, "Unser Fritz," Nelson, and Napoleon, the American school-children with whom I had come in contact. Although the Hawaiian press has deteriorated somewhat since that time, Hawaiian newspapers still give a greater amount of news from foreign lands than would be appreciated by the readers of American country newspapers. Our statistics of literacy are liable to give a false impression, since they include all persons over six years of age. But it is as rare an occurrence to find an illiterate adult

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hawaiian in Hawaii as it is to find an illiterate adult American in the most favored State in the Union; and such has been the case for a generation. Yet these are the people who must bear the brunt of the malice or ignorance of cartoonists and writers, who think it funny to caricature them as ridiculous savages.

The remarkable industrial development of this country under the stimulus of the Reciprocity treaty with the United States, coupled with the decline of the native population, made it evident some eighteen years ago that large additions must be made to the permanent population of the country. The immediate demand was for plantation-laborers; but, unwilling to leave so important a matter as the repeopling of the land in the hands of any one class of the community, the Government took up the question. After much thought, careful investigation, and negotiation with other governments, it was decided to encourage and assist the immigration of Portuguese from the Azores and other neighboring islands. In the course of a few years eleven thousand of these people were thus assisted into the country. As plantation-laborers they were entirely satisfactory. They were industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding. Naturally they have now almost ceased to do the work of plantation-laborers. They are teamsters, mechanics, overseers of labor, merchants, and landed proprietors. As teamsters and overseers they are still found in considerable numbers on the plantations. They have teams of their own in many cases, do teaming for hire, and take contracts for public and other works. As carpenters and blacksmiths they ply their trade in the usual manner of agricultural communities; and their stonecutters' skill has done much to popularize and develop the trade in the beautiful building-stone now used in Honolulu's finest buildings. As merchants they do not often carry on large business enterprises; and they seldom have business in the bankruptcy courts. A few of them own stock-ranches of considerable size; but the majority of the landowners take to the "little farm well tilled." They are famous as fruit-growers, and noted for their skill in making small pieces of land produce large returns. Nearly all the original labor-contracts expired ten years ago; and few laborers are now working under new contracts. They are perfectly free to go to whatever land seems to them best. Many have gone to California; and many others have returned to Portugal. The total immigration of Portuguese, up to the present time, has been 11,760. The Census of 1896 showed the number of Portuguese in the Islands to be 15,191.

About the time this immigration began, the mine-owners of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and some other States found themselves, like

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the planters of Hawaii, in need of laborers. Far from assisting and directing the importation of laborers, the Government of the United States forbade such immigration. In spite of the law, however, laborers were recruited from Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and other parts of Europe. Can an account such as that just given of our Portuguese be truthfully given of similar additions to the population of the United States? The reports in the American newspapers give one the impression that it cannot. Our Portuguese are not noted for scholarship; neither are the Portuguese immigrants into the United States. Our Portuguese *are* noted for the small percentage who get into misunderstanding with the law, and appear in the police courts. Is such the case with the Italians, Huns, Poles, and Bohemians above referred to? If so, it is unfortunate that the American newspapers associate these names so much with lawlessness and violence.

Our Chinese population is held, and with some degree of justice, to be an objectionable element. But it must be borne in mind that Chinamen are not all of one type. Among them we have coolies and college men. As a whole they are law-abiding and peaceable. It is true a good many of them are convicted of offences against our opium laws, which forbid alike the opium trade, the use of opium, and the possession of opium. They also offend against our laws in the matter of gambling. But of the more heinous offences they commit no unusual percentage. We certainly had a kind of "highbinder" society here a few years ago (imported from California, if I remember aright); and, while it flourished, murders were numerous. But when, in the course of the even administration of the law, the head of the society and a few of his subordinates were hanged, the society was broken up; and the criminal element in our Chinese population, which it represented, was brought into due subjection to the law. Judging by what I see in the California newspapers, so much cannot be said of the success of the law in dealing with this class of Chinamen in that State. And it is the general testimony of those Californians who are in a position to judge intelligently of the matter, that our Chinese population is far superior in quality to that of their own State. It is certain that Chinamen from California bear among us the reputation of being the worst of their race. So, it is perhaps safe to say, that the worst California has to fear from this class of our population is that she may receive back her own. If Senator White[1] finds any consolation in this thought he is welcome to it.

[1] See "The Proposed Annexation of Hawaii," by Senator STEPHEN M. WHITE in THE FORUM for August, 1897.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Chinese are industrious and thrifty,—too industrious and too thrifty. They have too little ambition. They work harder and live worse than any human being ought. It is impossible for Americans to compete with them without working like slaves and living like beggars. The same is true of the Chinese of California.

Our Japanese population has caused some public men of America great anxiety. They are objectionable. Let the truth be stated frankly. The objection to them, however, is not that they are Japanese, but that so large a percentage of them is of the lower classes. They are not good representatives of the intelligence and the culture of the Empire of the Rising Sun. Have not similar complaints against the immigrants coming into the United States from Europe resounded for the past twenty years? And are not such complaints well founded? The Japanese are reasonably industrious and well-disposed. As a class they are law-abiding; though individuals of this nationality commit a fair percentage of our crimes. Yet the officers of the law have never encountered any serious resistance to their authority at the hands of the Japanese. Sudden outbursts of temper have caused a number of them to commit the most serious crimes during the past year. These crimes have been directed against their own countrymen, and in most instances have been attributable to the disparity of the sexes; there being four times as many men as women. In all such cases the law takes its even course; being scarcely resisted by the criminal himself, and never meeting with any organized resistance on the part of the Japanese. There is no *mafia* among them.

But wherein is the occasion for so much anxiety on the part of Americans concerning our Japanese people? It seems to be assumed on the part of some that, in the event of annexation, our Japanese will all flock to California. Why, then, are they not doing so now? And why have they not been doing so for the past ten years? Large numbers of them have been perfectly free to do so, so far as the laws of the two countries are concerned. In the event of annexation they will not be freer to go. Yet they have not gone in any great numbers. The fact is, that they have the intelligence to appreciate a good thing while they have it. And it is safe to say that in case of annexation they will not all lose their heads, though the example may be set them by those who claim to be their betters.

Americans, British, Germans, and Norwegians constitute essentially the remainder of the population. They are classed together in Hawaii, and may as well be so classed for the purposes of this article.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Altogether they constitute a little community of some 7,000 men, women, and children, in a region essentially agricultural. Of these some 2,200 are of Island birth. I speak of this class of our population with reserve. Yet a number of representatives of this little community have received flattering recognition abroad; and I may perhaps be excused if I recall a few instances.

In those dark days of civil strife in the early sixties, there was in one of the American colleges a student, a son of fair Hawaii, who, obeying the dictates of his conscience, gave up his college course to join in the vigorous prosecution of the war, that the Union might be preserved. Becoming a commander of negro troops at a time when such commands were not sought after by either regular or volunteer officers, he soon rose to the rank of brigadier-general. When victory and peace came, he joined as earnestly and fearlessly in the "vigorous prosecution of the peace," that the Union might be preserved. He founded Hampton Institute, and spent the remainder of his life educating the head, the heart, and the hands of those who, through no fault of their own, were totally unfit for their new domestic, civic, and industrial conditions and duties. Of his success and of the thousands of American homes that are more enlightened, more comfortable, more civilized, more Christian, happier, and better for his unselfish and noble life-work, it is not for me to speak. Are not all these things written in the hearts of the American people? As far as one nation can give its citizens to another, Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong was the gift of Hawaii to America.

Sons of Hawaii have taken enviable positions in the medical and legal professions in the city of Chicago, and in literature in the city of New York. Gulick's contributions to the doctrine of Evolution were enough to give him high rank among the world's great thinkers. Less than a year ago one of the largest firms of manufacturing pharmacists in the United States sent to Hawaii for one of her sons to take charge of its laboratories. Yet this country has sent few representatives abroad; the majority of those who have experienced its charms preferring to end their days here, even though by remaining they have, to a great extent, cut themselves off from the outside world. From this isolated retreat, however, they have been heard with appreciation. When the red sunsets, or after-glows, of 1883 attracted so much attention, and aroused so much wonder throughout the world, it was a native of Hawaii, of American descent, who offered to the scientific world the first satisfactory explanation of the phenomena. When one of the noted American astronomical foundations offered two prizes for the best essays on the subject, one of those

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prizes came to Hawaii; and the writer of that prize essay received even more flattering recognition in Europe than in America, as the term, "Bishop's rings," occurring in French scientific literature, attests. Fornander's "Polynesian Race" holds much the same position in the literature of Polynesian ethnology that Webster's "Dictionary" does in English lexicography. Judge Fornander did pioneer work; and his books were long recognized as of the very highest authority. Of late years the critics have taken to the practice of finding fault with this work; but they have not yet taken to the practice of writing better. Green's "Vestiges of the Molten Globe" attracted much attention, and called forth many favorable comments from European geologists. Both these writers spent their mature years in Hawaii. Notable minor contributions to the literature of science have been made in recent times by some of our younger men. Law literature also has been enriched by recent contributions from Hawaii. The degree of LL.D. has been conferred upon the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court by Yale University; and the same degree has been conferred upon our President by an almost equally high authority. All this is a showing made by a little community of seven thousand in an agricultural region.

It has been regarded by some as a suspicious circumstance that this part of our population has taken a very prominent part in the industrial and political development of the country. Considering the success of those of its members who have chosen other walks of life, what should be expected of those who devote themselves to the development of material resources in an undeveloped land, and to affairs of state in a state just emerging from primitive rudeness? There is nothing here to be explained. Yet, because that has come to pass which every reasonable man in full possession of the facts would have expected to come to pass, reputable papers have lent their columns to the misrepresentation of the men at the head of our great industrial organizations and of our Government as adventurers, filibusters, and brigands.

Mr. Reed says that our people are different from the American people. To this impeachment we must in some measure plead guilty. As a whole, our people are law-abiding. This is not saying that our laws are not broken. Of course they are broken; and they will continue to be broken so long as we continue to need laws. But all elements of our population acquiesce in the even administration of justice by our regularly constituted courts of law and equity. Lynchings are defended by the inhabitants of certain regions in the United States on the ground of their necessity. Of this I have nothing to say. I am not a judge of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the necessities of the different localities in America; but I can say that we have no need to resort to such undesirable expedients in the name of justice. Men sleep in safety of property and person in houses unlocked; and women travel unattended and without fear in every district of the Islands. Perhaps these also are points of difference.

We have socialists and reformers, who find fault with our industrial and social organization. They point out the fact that we have trusts and syndicates that are able practically to traffic in the rights and interests of their fellow-men. Yet this will hardly be claimed as a point of difference. The same is doubly true of America. But we have neither almshouses nor mendicants; and there is nothing in our population to correspond with the tramp or the "beat." Here seems to be a genuine difference.

Our educational system is somewhat more comprehensive, the annual term is somewhat longer, the attendance at school is somewhat better, and the ability to read and write is somewhat more general among our native-born population than is the case in the average agricultural community in America. And the contributions of our people to the scientific and polite literature of the day are more liberal than those of the average of similarly circumstanced American communities.[1]

In calling attention to these points of difference it is not the purpose to intimate that there may not be something of value to the American people in Mr. Reed's argument; but it *is* the purpose to call attention to the fact that *different* does not always mean *worse*, and to claim that there are points of difference which are in our favor. And I contend that in this brief paper attention has been called to enough of them to justify us in asking for a more respectful hearing than we have thus far been accorded in many quarters.

Again, our Census figures have been taken as indicating that we have become "Asiaticized"; and they certainly do indicate a serious state of affairs. On the other hand, our latest educational statistics show that 54 per cent of all the pupils attending school are Hawaiians, that 34 per cent are of the white races, and that only 11 per cent are Asiatics; while of the teaching-force, 50 per cent are Americans, 24 per cent are Hawaiians, 13 per cent are British, 10 per cent are of other European nationalities, and only 3 per cent are Asiatics. Note well that Christian civilization still holds the key of the future in Hawaii!

HENRY SCHULER TOWNSEND.

[1] An article by Mr. TOWNSEND on "Education in Hawaii" appeared in THE FORUM for January, 1898.—ED.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DEPRESSION IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY: A REMEDY.

"WHAT will be the future of our cotton industry in the United States?" is a question that, more than any other, is agitating the minds of the business men of this country, especially those of New England. That the cotton industry has been depressed for some time cannot be denied; and that the last year has been the most disastrous to the cotton-manufacturers of New England, is well known. There has been a universal cut in wages of operatives; and, as a result, strikes have occurred in many of our large cotton centres, which have brought not only disaster to the manufacturers, but poverty and suffering to thousands of men, women, and children, and a consequent depression in all classes of business in every part of New England. There is a cause for this; and if we will intelligently apply the remedy, we may again see our cotton industry prosperous, and the many who are idle to-day earning a competency in the only channel of labor open to them.

What is the cause of this depression in the cotton districts? I believe the question can be answered in a single sentence: Over-production for the market now open to us. For the last thirty years, the policy of our people has been to retain our home market; and the whole energy of the Government has been directed to that end, under a constant pressure from the manufacturing interests. Possibly this may have been wise, to a certain extent; and while the country was comparatively new, and manufacturing undeveloped, the policy of protecting our home market was no doubt profitable to the business interests of the country.

At the close of the Rebellion, the principal manufactories of textile fabrics were confined to the East, and largely to New England. The great West was undeveloped; the "Great American Desert" was still on our maps; and the Rocky Mountains had been crossed by emigrants only.

The abolition of slavery, and the wonderful resources of our country, as developed by four years of war, attracted the attention of the world; European capital sought investments among us; railroads were constructed across the continent; cities sprang up in every part of the great West; and millions of emigrants from the Old World sought our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shores and were welcomed, because we needed them to assist us in the onward march of improvement and in the development of our resources.

This development of the West called for a like development of manufacturing in the East; mills sprang up, and the sound of the loom was heard in every city and village; high wages were paid for labor; large dividends were paid on invested capital; and the country had a period of prosperity unprecedented in the history of nations. But such prosperity could not last. In the rush for wealth our people did not think of this. Our manufacturers did not look beyond to the time when the country should be covered with railroads, when cities and villages should be found in every part of the States, when our agricultural output should be excessive, and when outside competition should reduce prices almost to the point of prohibiting production; nor to the time when the peoples of the Old World would cease to seek our shores for lack of opportunity to better their condition.

During the period of prosperity cotton-mills were being erected, and the output increased every year, so that now, were the cotton-mills of the country run to their full capacity, six or seven months' work would suffice to supply all the goods we can consume in a year. As a result of all our activity the market is overstocked. During the time of our prosperity we were not cultivating a foreign market, but were catering for the home market; and now, when our production has reached twice the amount of our consumption, we have no market for our surplus. Depression is inevitable.

It is patent to every intelligent observer that, unless we can develop a wider market for our cotton goods, it will be impossible for the manufacturers of this country to keep their looms constantly employed. The result will be many idle operatives, and, consequently, a decreased consuming power; which latter condition will necessarily affect every part of the business world.

It is claimed by some that the cause of depression in the cotton industry of New England is the cheaper labor and the greater number of working-hours in the cotton-mills of the South. This may add to the cause of the present unfavorable conditions; but the suggestion of some Members of Congress, that there should be national legislation regulating the hours of labor in all the States, is not the true remedy. An investigation will show that there is a large difference in wages paid in the several States of the Union; and, if the hours of labor should be regulated by Congress, it would be equally important to regulate the wages of the employed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It will be a sad day for this country when the Protection idea is carried to the extent of "protecting" the interests of one section from the competition of other sections.

The whole question of the future prosperity of our cotton-mills hinges on the problem of a wider market for our goods. How shall this be obtained? By taking, it seems to me, what naturally belongs to us,—our fair share of the trade of South America. Can this be accomplished? Certainly; if in seeking it our people will manifest the same business tact that they do in their business relations with the people of our own country. Take, for instance, the Republic of Colombia,—one of the richest undeveloped territories on the western continent. There is at the present time in this republic a population of 5,000,000. Except in the high mountain districts, the people wear cotton goods almost entirely. From New York to the principal port of the mainland of Colombia the distance is 2,000 miles. By the present line of steamers sailing between these ports, *via* Jamaica, the passage takes nine days; fifteen days are required by the English line of steamers between Liverpool and Colombia; and eighteen days may be reckoned upon for the German line. The shorter distance and quicker time of the American line should give us the advantage in trade. Yet in 1893 the exports by the principal countries trading with Colombia were as follows: France, $7,394,000; Germany, $1,315,000; Great Britain, $4,908,000; United States, $3,156,000.

Of the exports of Great Britain to Colombia, more than one-half consisted of cotton goods, amounting to $2,700,000; while the cotton goods exported to that republic by us amounted to $301,690 only.

During a residence of four years in Colombia, I endeavored to discover the cause of our small cotton trade with that country. In Bogota, the capital, you enter a mercantile house to buy a piece of cotton goods; and the merchant will place on the counter three pieces, of 18 yards, 24 yards and 30 yards, respectively. If you ask him for a piece of 45 or 50 yards, he will tell you that the trade does not call for cloth in longer pieces than 30 yards. Our manufacturers cut their cloth in longer pieces for the home market; yet they cannot supply the South-American trade with the desired lengths.

Ask the merchant why he does not buy his cotton goods in the United States, and he will tell you that he would be delighted to sell American cottons because they are so much superior to the cottons he has for sale, but that they are too good for the people, who want cheaper goods. These cheaper goods can be bought in the English markets.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Besides, the Americans do not cut their goods in the desired lengths; they do not pack them properly for transport across the mountains on a mule's back; they make the bundles too large; they do not protect them properly from the rains; and the goods arrive damaged.

A merchant who did a large wholesale business in Colombia asked me why he could not buy goods in America as profitably as in England. I asked him to be more explicit. He said: "I find I can buy prints (calicoes) in the United States as cheaply as I can in England; and they are much superior in style and quality. I ordered from a wholesale house in New York 1,500 pieces, of thirty yards each. It required two months to get a reply; and then the merchant informed me that he could not fill my order, because prints were not made in 30-yard pieces, in the United States; adding that if I would accept 45 yards in a piece, he would be happy to fill my order at once. The market here calls for 30 yards. I was obliged, on account of delay, to cable my order to England." In reply I could tell him only that our people had but little trade with his country, and that they did not understand the demands of his market. Thus the merchant was forced to trade with England, although he would have preferred to trade with us.

I have seen in a single store fifty packages of American cottons that had been ruined in transportation over the mountains. These goods were sold at auction for what they would bring; and the insurance company paid the balance. Thus, while the merchant was reimbursed for his losses on his goods, he lost the profit on the sale of them in his store. He said to me: "I cannot buy American goods until Americans learn to wrap them properly." Our merchants and manufacturers must learn such things, and cater to the demands and conditions of the trade, if they wish to sell to these people.

What is true of Colombia is true of Chile also. In 1894, the latest obtainable figures, England furnished seven-eighths of the cotton imported by the latter country. In 1896 the exports of cotton goods to Chile from the United States amounted to $684,000 only. America should at least divide this trade equally with England.

From Brazil, in eleven years,—1885 to 1895 inclusive,—we imported raw material to the value of $749,835,134; while our exports to Brazil amounted to $119,645,230 only. Thus the balance of trade against us was $630,189,904 gold.

On comparing Brazil's trade with different countries we find that nearly all the balance against us was expended in Europe for merchandise, a great portion of which might have been furnished by the United

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States. During the eleven years in question we sold to Brazil cotton goods to the value of $9,000,000 only; while England sold that country $150,000,000, France $22,000,000, and Germany $35,000,000. We furnished only a little over 4 per cent of the cotton goods imported by Brazil; although, judging by a collection of 40,000 samples in the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, showing the style and quality of goods exported from Europe, our manufacturers might have competed successfully with 60 per cent of the total imported. These facts have been determined by a careful investigation of the samples by leading cotton-manufacturers of the United States. Had our cotton interests taken one-half of this trade the present depression would not have existed.

If we turn to Argentina, we find that the imports of cotton goods by that republic in 1895 amounted to 20,979,240 kilograms, of which the United States furnished only 253,383, or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

These examples are sufficient to show that what our cotton interests need to-day is a wider market; and there is sufficient evidence to prove that this can be obtained on the western continent, at our very doors, simply by complying with the conditions of trade. We certainly can do this as well as England, Germany, or France.

There is some talk of concerted action to reduce the output of cotton goods. That of course means idleness, and further depression in the business world. A far more patriotic move on the part of our cotton-manufacturers would be, an endeavor to supply the markets that are open to them; thus giving bread to those who have helped to earn their dividends in the past. In order to secure this trade, there must be concerted action. The agents sent to those countries must be competent to study intelligently the wants of the people, the kind of goods desired, and the methods of packing suited to the different markets. Then goods must be manufactured in styles, length of pieces, and of quality to suit the trade. Agencies, with a large variety of samples always at hand, must be established in the business centres; and time must be given on goods sold, until they are delivered to the purchaser, instead of demanding cash on shipment of material that will not reach the purchaser till three or four months later. All these conditions are complied with by the foreigner; and our people have the capital as well as the enterprise to do the same thing. Moreover they will find their losses no greater than at home,—indeed, not so great.

The manufacturer must be satisfied with smaller dividends than in the past; remembering that all capital is earning smaller dividends than formerly.

LUTHER F. MCKINNEY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION'S RECORDS.

THE customary Bill for the erection of a Hall of Records has been introduced in the present session of Congress. In the last eighteen years no less than twenty-three similar Bills have been introduced—ten in the House, and thirteen in the Senate. All of them had the laudable purpose of providing a suitable building for the reception of the official archives of our Government; but all failed of this purpose, owing to Congressional indecision concerning the proposed site. As long ago as March, 1810, Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, reported to the House of Representatives the necessity for making some provision for the preservation of the nation's archives; commenting on their then confused and disordered state, and recommending fire-proof rooms for their protection.

In the meantime the Government of the United States pays larger printing-bills than does the Government of any other country. In 1800 the entire amount expended for Congressional printing did not exceed $4,000: recently there has been paid for one publication alone—the Eleventh Census—$15,000,000.

The liberality of our Government as a producer of books cannot be questioned. The results of the activity in the various scientific bureaus are promptly and fully given to the public in bulletins, reports, and circulars. The editions of these publications are enormous, when compared with private publications of a like nature. Their circulation is practically unrestricted. All Members of Congress are supplied gratuitously with regulated quotas which go to constituents. Libraries also are supplied gratuitously with copies; and here again a large public is served with them. England, on the contrary, announces on all her sale catalogues of official literature: "The official publications are *not* available for presentation to Free Libraries."

It is not as a producer of official volumes, but as a caretaker of them, as an archivist, that fault must be found with the United States Government; for, with all its liberality of publication and distribution, the greatest confusion prevails as regards compilation and preservation. The result of the various methods and combinations of methods of com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pilation has been described as nothing short of chaotic; and for anyone to attain to an understanding of the Government publications, as they exist to-day, it will be necessary for him first to divest his mind of any idea of sequence or symmetry. For one hundred and nine years every chief of a bureau and head of a department has been able to compile and edit and publish as he has seen fit, to call eight quarto books a volume, or an octavo of two hundred pages a circular, to expand and reduce *ad libitum* volumes from quartos to octavos and *vice versa*, to begin series, to discontinue series, and to change the names of series; and there has been no one to say him nay. There have been "annual" reports which have been issued at intervals of three years; and then, with a sudden acceleration of energy, three annual reports of two volumes each have appeared in one year! The confused results of such methods may be readily imagined, even by the unimaginative.

Not only have we been remiss in the methods of compilation, but we have also been deplorably careless in the preservation of our national records. Comparing ourselves in this regard with some European nations, we should have good cause to regret having appropriated the title, "a nation of bibliographers."

Although so young a nation,—only one hundred and nine years old,—yet have we no complete file of our publications, nor even a record of what constitutes such a file. The usual reason given for this is the fact that in 1814 the British burned what records we had. But what accounts for the fact that our records succeeding that date are scattered and incomplete?

France, in the very year of the institution of our Government, authorized the creation "d'un depôt pour toutes les pièces originales relatives à ses operations," and in the following August appointed its first archivist. At the present time the national archives of France are presided over by a *Garde générale*, appointed by the President, and twenty-eight assistants, two of whom are members of the Institute. The archives comprise not less than 90,000,000 "d'actes ou des titres, repartis dans environs 300,000 cartons, liasses, registres, et portefeuilles." These documents relate to the political, social, and ecclesiastical history of France; the oldest dating as far back as A.D. 625.

In addition to this bureau of national archives, there are three *Inspecteurs Généraux des Bibliothèques et des Archives*, and three commissions, viz.: *Commission des Archives départementales, communales, et hospitalières, Commission supérieure des Archives de la Marine;* and *Commission des Archives diplomatiques.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The *Commission des Archives départementales, communales, et hospitalières* consists of thirteen members; and one of its duties is to conduct the examinations of candidates for *Archivistes des Départements*, of whom there were in 1896 no less than eighty-seven. These departmental archivists collect and transcribe such documents in the district over which they preside as are of historical, ecclesiastical, or local interest, affix to the copies the Government seal, and deposit a calendar of the documents with the mayor of the district.

The *Commission supérieure des Archives de la Marine* was instituted by order of the President in April, 1883; and, as its title implies, it concerns itself with the archives of France bearing on the naval interests of that country. It consists of seventeen members, several of whom are members of the Institute. The Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale is a member of all these archivistic commissions.

The *Commissiond es Archives diplomatiques*, instituted by Decree of February, 1874, is subordinate to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*. It is made up of thirty-one members, comprising the Minister of Foreign Affairs, several senators, deputies, a member of the Academy, members of the Institute, the Director of the National Library, etc.

Holland, in 1856, issued a Decree defining the manner in which the royal archives were to be guarded. A main bureau was established at The Hague, which in 1897 employed eight persons. Each of twelve provinces maintains a bureau of provincial archives; the earliest having been established in 1877, and the most recent in 1895. Three persons form the maximum staff allotted to any one of these bureaus; the archivist, as in France, being a man of learning, and frequently a member of one of the highest orders of the kingdom.

The work of the Public Record Office of England, with its long series of invaluable publications, is well known to historians. It has not only furnished much of the material for our own historical literature, but has also served as a model for many of the historical enterprises of the various States of the Union. The influence of England has extended to her colonies; for in Canada, India, and Cape Colony we find archivistic research vigorously prosecuted.

While these and other countries have learned the wisdom of jealously caring for their official literature, the United States has not only failed to profit by their example, but has indifferently allowed year after year to pass by without taking any steps to protect her national archives from the ravages of time and vandals. In what other "nation of bibliographers" could such a document as the original manuscript of Webster's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

famous reply to Hayne, for instance, have found its way into the market, to be purchased, not by the Government, but by a public library?

It has always been supposed that the Congressional Library had a fine collection of our national literature. It is true that it has acquired from time to time much that is of great importance in this respect; but it is also true that no attempt has ever been made in the Library to collect systematically and arrange accessibly the various publications of our Government. This, however, was no function of the Congressional Library, which was established as a library for Congress, not as a repository of its archives. The first intimation of the latter intention on the part of Congress was the introduction in the Senate during the present session of a joint resolution providing for the removal of historical manuscripts from the departments to the Library of Congress.

For many years absolutely unrestricted access could be had to the original manuscript files of Presidents' Messages and other Executive documents. They were only nominally under the charge of an officer. It is small wonder therefore that, when the collection was recently placed under lock and key, some copies were found to be missing, and many others mutilated. The documents are still exposed to damp in their present quarters—an open room in the sub-cellar of the House-wing, opposite a boiler-room, with a wire grating for their only protection! The Senate has always retained supervision over such documents as emanated from or were related to itself, and has shown greater wisdom than the House in having suffered an exceptionally competent servant to remain uninterruptedly in office for many years. The Government has never passed a law fixing upon any person or office the duty of collecting and preserving the publications and records of Congress in any one place; consequently such scattered collections as exist to-day are the result largely of personal interest on the part of certain officials.

The first attempt toward such a collection was made in 1895, when the office of Superintendent of Public Documents was created under the Government Printing-Office. According to the last report of the Superintendent, the collection now numbers 16,841 printed documents and 2,597 maps. In its completeness, in preserving public papers of every kind, and every edition of the same, it is perhaps not rivalled by any other collection; although there are several which have more very old documents.

The interest in local history, which has been awakened in the last few years, has been fostered principally by the State and city historical societies. The work of these societies corresponds almost wholly to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that done by the French departmental archivist; and, while the material which has been collected by our societies will be invaluable to the future historian, it cannot be denied that his researches will be impeded to the same extent that the fundamental factor in them, viz., the Government archives, have been allowed to become impoverished. It is generosity to say that there are few States to-day which command an unbroken file of their legislative proceedings in intelligently arranged form; yet such a possession would represent in each individual State a monument to posterity beside which structures of stone or metal would be as tinsel.

Undoubtedly the absolute failure of the Federal Government to build for itself such a monument has had its influence on the States. Yet the component parts were the first to recover from the lethargy which fell upon all scholarly pursuits with the Civil War, and during the restless years immediately preceding it; for a large percentage of the historical societies existing to-day have been organized since that period. Will the Federal Government wait until the concentrated effort of the States becomes sufficiently impelling before it will proceed to preserve the remnants of its official records, or can Congress be impressed with the fact that the collection and arrangement of such records as exist is more vitally important than the erection of a Hall of Records to house such records as may remain when a desirable site shall have been decided upon?

In making this plea for the preservation of the nation's records it is but just to pay a tribute to the men who through individual effort have done for the nation what it should have done for itself. Earliest among these is Peter Force, who, in compiling his "American Archives," collected a vast amount of material, which was subsequently purchased by the Government for the sum of $100,000, and deposited in the Library Congress. Next follow Gales and Seaton, who, in addition to occupying for several years the position of official reporters and printers to Congress, secured from the Government sufficient guarantee to insure them against any loss in the publication of the "American State Papers." More within our own times is the monumental work of B. F. Stevens, compiler of the "Facsimiles of American Manuscripts in European Archives," and the work of the late James C. Pilling, which is too closely allied to the subject to permit of its being overlooked in any mention of our national official literature.

ADELAIDE R. HASSE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DOES MACHINERY DISPLACE LABOR?

THAT mechanical aids to labor, and processes not mechanical, have neither displaced labor nor lessened employment, has been stated by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, as a fact beyond question, in an article[1] in which he says, in substance (the italics being my own):

"It is not true that men, in the aggregate, have been deprived of labor through what are called 'labor-saving machines.' As a matter of truth, so-called labor-saving machines, while they do in the initiative save labor to their owners, *really make labor in the aggregate.* . . . This position is clearly supported by the facts in the case, and for these facts it is not necessary to go back of the experience of the last generation of the nineteenth century.

In 1870 *per capita* consumption of iron in the United States was 105.6 pounds; in 1890 it was 283.4 pounds. This vast increase is a complete offset in its results [?] to the effects of any individual displacement which may have occurred.

The fact that unit consumption of cotton in the United States increased from less than 10 pounds in 1830 to almost 19 pounds in 1890 *clearly and positively indicates* that the labor necessary for such consumption must have kept up to, if not gone far beyond, the standard existing in the olden time—and I mean by 'standard' in this respect *the actual number of people employed.*

The consumption of steel shows similar results. In 1880 it was 46 pounds per unit; and in 1890 it had risen to 144 pounds. *This rise is a sure indication that labor must have been actively employed,* or the extension in unit production could not have taken place.

Machinery has created entirely new vocations, many thousands being employed in telegraphy where not an individual has been displaced. . . . The invention of waterproof clothing [?], sewing-machines, printing-devices—inventions in innumerable directions more than offset by expansion any displacement that can be shown in other directions."

In his first report (for 1886), as Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Wright put the public in possession of much interesting matter bearing upon the subject. In this report it was stated, *in substance,* that 600 men employed in making agricultural implements were then doing work formerly requiring 2,145; that in the earlier petroleum industry every barrel was carted to the railway, but that, on the completion of a well in 1886, connection was made with the pipe-line, and the oil was carried to market in a manner dispensing with the labor of 5,700 horse-teams and 11,400 men, in handling a daily output estimated at 57,000 barrels; that in the manufacture of paper 90 per cent of the labor had

[1] "The Chautauquan" for August, 1897.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been displaced, as had 99 per cent of that formerly employed in the production of paperhangings. That of the labor involved in stocking fire-arms machinery had multiplied the labor unit's productive power from 125 to 150 per cent; while in making shoes one man was doing work formerly requiring sixty. That new processes had displaced 95 per cent of the labor involved in making given quantities of carpets; while die-work had displaced 84 per cent of the labor employed in cutting garments, as had new appliances destroyed 88 per cent of that engaged in the manufacture of certain grades of hats. That in cotton-mills machinery had reduced the labor quite one-half in producing given quantities; while in England machinery enabled one person to turn out 4,000 times as much cotton yarn as did the hand-worker which the machine had displaced. That in the United States the ratio of spindles per operative had risen from 25.2, in 1831, to 72, and that the output of the weaver had been increased from 48 to 1,500 yards per week; while, in the manufacture of flour, machinery had displaced 75 per cent of the labor involved in producing given quantities. That machinery had reduced the labor of dressing staves 80 per cent, and displaced 90 per cent of that employed in producing given quantities of steel in the preceding fifteen years; that it had effected a like displacement in the manufacture of certain grades of tin ware; that in preparing material for musical instruments machinery enabled a boy to accomplish the work formerly employing twenty-five men; and that in ship-building, machinery had displaced from 80 to 90 per cent of the labor involved in the construction of vessels of given capacity.

A tabular summary of Mr. Wright's official statements of twelve years ago shows that there had been displaced by the use of "labor-lessening devices" fully 75 per cent of the labor formerly employed in the production of given quantities of wares, from the practice of the leading manufacturing and mechanical industries with which he then dealt; while it is altogether probable that not one person in a million will have the hardihood to question the statement that since 1886 "labor-lessening devices" have been brought into use in greater numbers than in any preceding twelve years. It is altogether probable that the labor now required to produce given quantities of fabricated wares is, upon the average, less than 5 per cent of that involved when Adam Smith wrote.

That displacements have been continuously progressive, is evidenced by the tables of the Eleventh Census, compiled under the supervision of Mr. Wright, which show that in forty leading manufacturing industries, taken together, the productive power of the labor unit was 50 per cent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greater in the ninth than in the eighth decade, obviously by reason of the continuously accelerating rate at which new appliances and processes "lessening labor and destroying employment" were being brought into use; the determinations resulting from such analysis of Census data clearly negativing the assumption that, "As a matter of truth, so-called labor-saving machines, while they do in the initiative save labor to their owners, really make labor in the aggregate."

An illustrative instance of the manner in which "so-called labor-saving machines . . . really make labor in the aggregate" is found in the "Two-Row Cultivator" just beginning to displace the "One-Row" machine in the tillage of rowed crops. This machine displaces half the men heretofore employed in cultivating given areas, and weighs a fourth less than the two implements displaced. But three-fourths as much material and labor are involved in its construction; the railway employs but three-fourths as much rolling stock, fuel, and labor in its carriage; the dealer handles but one machine, where before he had the work and profits resulting from the distribution of two; while the cook upon the farm has her work reduced one-half. Here is at least one case in which labor has *not* been made in the aggregate. Obviously the new implement has but two important economic functions. One is to materially lessen the labor and cost of growing the one hundred and ten million acres of rowed crops in the United States; and the other is to destroy employment, as has nearly every implement brought upon the farm within the last fifty years.

Mr. Wright states that:

> "In 1870 unit consumption of iron in the United States was 105.6 pounds; in 1890 it was 283.4 pounds. This vast increase is a complete offset to the effects of any individual displacement which may have occurred."

While the statement is unqualified that an increase of 177.8 pounds in unit consumption of iron resulted in a complete compensation for such displacements of labor—impliedly in all vocations—as may have occurred, yet no information is given as to the manner in which these wonderful and complete compensations were effected; the logical inference being that employment was so increased in producing the additional quantity consumed per unit as to offset displacements of labor in all vocations. It should therefore follow that the labor involved in the production of the unit's quota of 1890, as represented by the price of iron, should not only equal but greatly exceed that involved in the production of the smaller quota of 1870. Possibly it would have equalled such 1870 quota labor, had unit consumption in that year been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but 105.6 pounds. Data furnished by the Treasury Department show, however, that in 1870 iron was produced, imported, and retained for home consumption in quantities as follows:

TABLE No. 1.

Domestic pig iron retained for home consumption	4,121,000,000 lbs.
Net imports of rails	1,023,000,000 "
Net imports of iron in other forms	370,000,000 "
Supply available for home use	5,514,000,000 lbs.

Dividing the supply between the 38,558,000 units constituting the population of the United States in 1870, the unit's quota would have been 143 pounds instead of 105.6. This indicates a predicate erroneous by about one-third, and vitiates postulates based thereon.

Referring to Mr. Wright's official report for 1890, the price of anthracite pig is found to have averaged $40.21 per ton at Philadelphia during the five years ending with 1872, and but $18.40 in 1890. Hence the labor involved in the production of 143 pounds in 1870, as represented by the price of iron, was of the value of $2.57 as against $2.33 for a unit supply of 283.4 pounds in 1890; the labor displaced in producing the greater quantity being indicated by a decline of 9 per cent in the cost of the unit's quota.

Apparently a fairer showing was possible by comparing the labor cost of the 1870 unit supply of 143 pounds with a unit supply of 278 pounds in 1896, as it would have shown the labor displaced in furnishing a given population with about twice as much iron in the later period.

The publications of the Treasury Department show that the unit supply of iron in 1896 was some 278 pounds, and that the price of gray forge pig at Pittsburg averaged a small fraction less than $11 per ton for the year. Therefore, the 1896 unit quota, as represented by the price of iron, involved the expenditure of labor costing but $1.37, as against a unit supply of 143 pounds in 1870 involving the expenditure of labor costing $2.57. The 1896 quota was 94 per cent greater than that of 1870; yet it involved the expenditure of 47 per cent less labor. In this measure machinery and improved technics did, in twenty-six years, lessen the labor and destroy the employment involved in supplying the people of the United States with iron; while in the production of given quantities the displacement of labor equalled 73 per cent of that employed so recently as 1870!

The unit consuming iron consumes labor in the concrete; and if the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor involved in the production of 143 pounds was greater than that involved twenty-six years later in the production of the 278 pounds used per unit in 1896, it is evident that the consumption of the 143 pounds afforded the most employment, as it is also apparent that such excess of employment was just as readily determinable when the "Chautauquan" article was written as in 1898. In that article the statement appears that:

> "The fact that unit consumption of cotton in the United States increased from less than 10 pounds in 1830 to almost 19 pounds in 1890, clearly and positively indicates that the labor necessary for such consumption must have kept up to, if not gone far beyond, the standard existing in the olden time—and I mean by 'standard' in this respect the actual number of people employed."

Probably no one will question that the "labor necessary for" any consumption whatever must be kept up, as the labor of production is a condition always precedent to consumption; yet one is at a loss to know how this can affect the proposition that the use of machinery has not, relatively to the population, reduced the sum of employment afforded in manufacturing and mechanical operations. Not only must the "actual number of people employed" in 1830 have been maintained—and that is all the quoted statement means—but, to "clearly and positively indicate" anything beyond the production of the cotton goods consumed, in support of the writer's thesis, the ratio of employment to increased consumption should have equalled, and only equalled, the labor involved in producing the quantity consumed per unit in 1830; as any increase beyond this of the unit's productive power, by the use of "labor-lessening devices" would "clearly and positively indicate" a related and consequent destruction of employment. In order to see just what bearing the alleged increase of unit consumption of cotton has upon the question at issue, it is necessary to determine first the relative productive power of the cotton-mill operative of 1830 and 1890, as but one factor in the equation has been stated in the "Chautauquan" article. Should it be found that the consumption of the cloth made from 10 pounds of cotton in 1830 afforded more employment than did the cloth made from 19 pounds in 1890, then this citation is irrelevant, and in no manner supports the contention that while "so-called labor-saving machines . . . do in the initiative save labor to their owners [?]," they "really make labor in the aggregate"; otherwise it may.

Tabulating the best available data for 1832, and mostly that from the Census of 1890 for subsequent decennial years, the showing is as follows:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE NO. 2.

Year.	Number of Operatives.	Number of Spindles.	Pounds of Cotton Consumed.	Spindles per Operative.	Pounds Cotton Worked per Operative.
1832	57,500	1,250,000	78,300,000	21.7	1,362
1840	72,100	2,285,000	135,000,000	31.7	1,874
1850	92,300	.....	288,000,000	.....	3,120
1860	122,000	5,236,000	422,705,000	42.9	3,465
1870	135,400	7,132,000	398,308,000	52.7	2,942
1880	174,700	10,633,000	750,345,000	60.9	4,295
1890	221,600	14,188,000	1,117,946,000	64.0	5,046

Only in the solitary fact that "the actual number of people employed" —not the relative number—does Table No. 2 afford any clear and positive indication whatever in support of the statement quoted; while, on the other hand, it does "clearly and positively" indicate, in connection with Census tables relating to population, that, though population increased about 375 per cent between 1832 and 1890, the labor units employed in manufacturing cotton increased but 285 per cent, despite the fact that we had ceased to import as large a proportion of the cotton goods consumed, and become a considerable exporter. That is, population increased 30 per cent faster than those employed in cotton manufactures, notwithstanding an increase of some 90 per cent in unit consumption of cotton goods. Moreover, Table No. 2 "clearly and positively indicates" that an increase of 90 per cent in unit consumption was accompanied by an increase of more than 270 per cent in the labor unit's power to produce cotton goods, as the cotton worked per operative rose from 1,362 pounds in 1832 to 5,046 pounds in 1890, while the ratio of spindles to operatives increased from 21.7 in 1832 to 64 per operative in 1890; the product per spindle increasing 26 per cent.

Thus the unit's power to produce cotton goods increased more than three times as fast as unit consumption; such relative increase accurately measuring the displacement of labor and consequent power of a given number of consumers to furnish employment in the manufacture of given quantities of goods.

Correctly stated, the question is, whether machinery has reduced the employment involved in providing a given population with wares and services implied by such improvement as shall have taken place in the standard of living of the mass of such population.

Bearing in mind the correct relation of employment to the required supply and service of a given population, it is interesting to know that it required the work of 7,340 labor units in 1832 to supply each of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1,000,000 people with cloth made from 10 pounds of cotton, while in 1890 the labor of 3,760 sufficed to work up the 19,000,000 pounds required by a like number of consumers; thus "clearly and positively" indicating that, notwithstanding an increase of 90 per cent in unit requirements, improved methods had so increased the labor unit's productive power as to result in displacing no less than 3,580 out of the 7,340 operatives required to clothe with 10,000,000 pounds of cotton a million people in 1832,—a reduction of some 49 per cent of the labor employed, despite a 90 per cent increase of unit requirements! It would have required but 1,980 operatives in 1890 to have furnished a million people with goods made from 10,000,000 pounds of cotton, as against 7,340 employed in 1832; the actual lessening of labor and destruction of employment involved in the application of new devices equalling 73 per cent.

In support of the contention that the sum of available employment has not been reduced by the adoption of new devices, it is stated that:

"The consumption of steel shows similar results. In 1880 it was 46 pounds *per capita;* and in 1890 it had risen to 144 pounds. This rise is a sure indication that labor must have been actively employed, or the extension in *per capita* production not have taken place."

Steel being but another name for iron, and the quantities named having been exploited under the generic term, as an argument in favor of the writer's contention, it is difficult to understand the object of duplication, the more especially as the ninth decade was the time when carbonized iron of the Bessemer type was so generally substituted for the decarbonized form. Moreover, data furnished by the Treasury Department show the 1880 unit supply of steel to have been some 59 pounds instead of 46; an error of about 28 per cent appearing in this predicate.

Instead of the substitution of mild steel for iron negativing the proposition that machinery destroys employment, it affords most satisfactory proof in the affirmative.

"Poor's Manual" shows that in 1880 but 33,700 miles were laid with steel rails; while iron was in use on some 82,000 miles of railway. In 1890 steel was in use on 175,000 miles, and iron on less than 41,000. This substitution in renewals accounts for very much of the increase in unit consumption of steel, which was also largely substituted for wood, iron, stone, brick, and other materials in structures of every kind. Thus, instead of affording increased employment, such substitutions have greatly lessened both the labor of construction and renewal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An astounding result flows from the substitution of steel in rail-making, as the substituted material has at least three times the endurance of that displaced; consequently renewals are but one-third as frequent. As there are some 260,000 miles of main, auxiliary, and side tracks in the United States, their complete renewal involves the use of some 30,000,000 tons of metal. If iron rails were in use upon the entire mileage, it would involve in renewals the use of more than 3,000,000 tons annually, whereas, with steel universally in use, renewals now absorb but about 1,000,000 tons per annum. Thus in rail renewal alone, the substitution of steel for iron has destroyed employment of one-fifth as much labor as is now used in the manufacture of both iron and steel. In the face of this obvious and portentous fact, we are asked to believe that modern methods increase, rather than destroy, employment!

Elsewhere the substitution of steel for iron and other materials has lessened labor and destroyed employment in like manner, if in lower ratio. A very apparent displacement of farm labor results from the substitution of steel wire for other materials in fencing. With suitable metal posts, a galvanized wire fence will endure, with little repair, for more than fifty years; while other fences require constant care and much labor as well as frequent renewal.

Barring accidents, the steel ship has vastly greater longevity than the wooden one; and the labor involved in providing given carrying-capacity has been reduced fully 90 per cent. The use of metal in marine structures has destroyed the acquired skill of the builder of wooden ships, and placed him in the ranks of unskilled labor, while destroying employment formerly afforded by the preparation and carriage of forest products.

On the corner of Broadway and Pine Street in New York city stands the Equitable Building, which is said to be valued at more than $10,000,000, and represents a vast amount of labor. Just south of the "Equitable" is an office-building, having about as great earning capacity, yet occupying much less of the earth's surface, and representing less than one-third as great an outlay. Relatively to cost, the more modern structure has much the greater earning-capacity; and this capacity has been made possible only by the evolution of a process whereby a frame of steel is covered by a thin coating of stone or brick. This process owes the most of its value to the prior invention of the vertical railway, which enables the capitalist to rent heights formerly inaccessible and the means of reaching them.

Standing side by side, the "Equitable" and "Surety" Buildings afford

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an interesting object-lesson, whereby is shown an enormous destruction of employment resulting from an invention primarily designed for the purpose of lessening the physical effort required in reaching upper apartments.

Increased consumption of steel in building-operations means vastly less labor employed in making and laying brick, in quarrying and stone-cutting, in lumbering, and in many other processes accompanying construction, just as it implies vast reductions in the labor involved in maintenance and renewals.

In the last annual report of the Illinois Steel Company it is shown that in 1897 it produced more than a million tons of finished iron and steel, or about one-tenth the product of the nation. Ten such concerns, or six like that of the Carnegie Company, would turn out as much iron and steel as all the establishments now employed.

The reduction in the labor and cost of producing iron and steel between 1880 and 1890 is shown by the Census to have been as follows:

TABLE No. 3.

Year.	Average Number Labor Units Employed.	Total Tons Produced.	Cost Per Ton.	Tons Per Labor Unit.
1880	140,800	4,269,000	$26.57	303
1890	175,500	9,784,000	18.32	558

While the quantity produced increased 128 per cent, the labor-force employed in converting ore into iron and steel increased but 25 per cent.

Including materials employed, the cost per ton was reduced $8.25, or 31 per cent, in ten years; the output per labor unit increased 255 tons, or 84 per cent; and the labor involved in a ton of metal diminished to a proportionate extent. A ton of finished metal represented ten hours' labor in 1880, and less than six hours in 1890; the displacement equalling 46 per cent. Evidence is abundant showing even a greater reduction of labor in producing given quantities of metal since 1890 than occurred in the ninth decade.

While Americans are the greatest of "machine users," it is well to show that similar conditions obtain wherever machinery has come into general use.

In 1841 the cotton-mills of the United Kingdom furnished work for 240 operatives for each 100 looms in use; while in 1893 the ratio was 75 to 100 looms. In the meantime the capacity of the loom itself

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had doubled; the result being that each labor unit's productive power increased 700 per cent, despite a material reduction in the hours of labor.

In 1851 the textile industries of the United Kingdom furnished employment for 1,600,000 units, and for only 1,080,000 in 1890, or an absolute decrease of 33 per cent, while trebling the wares produced.

Between 1851 and 1881 the numbers employed in agriculture declined from 3,600,000 to 2,500,000; the displaced rural and textile labor units aggregating nearly 1,600,000, and some 2,500,000 being added to those engaged in trade, transportation, and in personal and professional service.

"Booth's Digest of British Censuses" shows 7,400,000 people employed in 1851 in the two great productive industries, agriculture and all manufactures, and but 7,090,000 in 1881,—an absolute decrease of 5 per cent; while such non-productive employments as trade, transportation, and domestic and professional service, together, show an increase of 1,890,000, or 62 per cent. Productive labor units, reduced one-twentieth in number, were found dividing their products among three-fifths more non-productive consumers. Like conditions obtain in the United States, where the population increased 62 per cent between 1870 and 1890; the labor units engaged in the productive industries increasing only 59 per cent, and the non-producers, engaged in distribution, and personal and professional service, increasing 121 per cent, or more than twice as fast as those engaged in production. Those engaged in professional service increased no less than 239 per cent; those rendering personal service 87 per cent; and those employed in trade and transportation 174 per cent; while cultivators of the soil increased but 41 per cent.

Between 1872 and 1881 the manufacturing force of France was reduced 3 per cent, notwithstanding an enormous increase of production. Between 1851 and 1861 (the era of greatest development of aids to rural labor) the agricultural population of France fell from 21,920,000 to 19,870,000,—a decrease of 2,050,000. Taking no note of the period when Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly detached, the rural population suffered a further reduction of 260,000 between 1872 and 1881. Thus 2,310,000 units were displaced by "employment-destroying devices," and forced to seek work in urban districts and in the army and navy.

In Belgium an agricultural population of 1,062,000 in 1856 had shrunk in 1880 to 982,000, although in the interim the entire population increased 23 per cent. In the same period the manufacturing population decreased 10 per cent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Europe, as in the United States, productive units have steadily decreased,—relatively where not absolutely,—and are everywhere found dividing their products with non-productive elements increasing prodigiously by rapidly progressing aggregates. Such conditions prompt us to ask what would be the effect upon employment, wages, and markets, were productive instead of destructive machines placed in the hands of the millions constantly under arms in Europe; and what the probable result of changing these most active consumers and destroyers of the products of others into productive fabricants, aided by the best machinery now in use.

In the sixties the present writer saw as many as twenty great river steamers arrive at Kansas City in a single day, where now not one is seen in a year. It is by no means improbable that at that time more men were employed in transportation on the Missouri River and on the plains west thereof than are now engaged in operating all the railways traversing the regions west of the ninety-fifth meridian. While there can be no question as to which is the preferable method, yet the fact remains that, in its occupation of those regions, the railway has displaced an enormous force formerly engaged in transportation, as well as the related fact that the writer of the "Chautauquan" article makes no mention whatever of this and similar displacements, while implying that the railway has created a new industry instead of merely substituting new devices for old in conducting an industry antedating the Pyramids, and without the aid of which they could never have risen above the sands of Egypt.

The street-railway but substitutes new devices for old in rendering services long required; while the telegraph and telephone, so far as relative employment is concerned, have done but little more than substitute another for that labor unit to which a well-known man referred when saying to his wicked partner: "Don't write, but send word."

Those contending that machinery and modern processes not mechanical have not lessened the sum of employment that would have been available, having made no attempt to show displacements relatively to the new employments they allege to have resulted from the evolution of what they are pleased to call "labor-saving devices,"—labor cannot obviously be saved unless used,—it is more than possible that the showing made in Table No. 4 may prove interesting, if not astounding, if it be borne in mind that the basic industry of civilized life still employs one-half those of European lineage and more than three-fourths of all other populations.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Should the showing made in Table No. 4 demonstrate that in twenty years (1870 to 1890) machinery had on the farms of the United States alone destroyed employment equivalent to constant work for seven-eighths as many labor units as were employed in 1890 in all the manufacturing industries of the United States, how paltry, from an economic standpoint, must appear alleged new industries that then employed less than 6 per cent of the labor force so displaced.

The farms of the United States increased from 2,660,000 in 1870 to 4,565,000 in 1890, or 71 per cent; the labor units directly employed in agriculture[1] increasing from 5,870,000 to 8,300,000, or 41 per cent, while the ratio of labor units to each 100 farms fell from 220 to 185.

In 1870, areas under such harvested staples as grains, hay, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes aggregated some 99,700,000 acres, rural labor units then being in the ratio of 1 to 17 acres. In 1890 such staples employed about 216,600,000 acres, and labor units upon the farm were then in the ratio of 1 to 26 harvested acres, the unit's productive power having increased 53 per cent in twenty years. Had labor units been in the same ratio to harvested acres in 1890 as in 1870, some 12,730,000 would have been employed on the farms instead of 8,300,000 only. *Thus it appears from official data that in a brief twenty years farm machinery alone effected the destruction of employment equivalent to constant work for 4,430,000 labor units!* In comparison with this enormous displacement in a single industry, how insignificant appears employment afforded to less than 250,000 persons engaged as makers and users of typewriters, those working in connection with street railways, telegraphs, telephones, and other electric appliances, as well as those finding employment in connection with other new vocations!

Setting on the debit side of the account twenty years' displacements only of farm labor, and on the other side all those who were, in 1890, working in connection with any of the so-called new vocations, the account assumes the form shown in Table 4, on the following page.

The production of artificial butter has probably thrown out of employment more than 247,000 people; while the utilization of cotton-seed and derived products has displaced much labor in the cornfield. There are few of the so-called new vocations which have not been accompanied by displacements of labor in greater or less degree.

[1] In Census tables such incongruous occupations as wood-chopping, mining, fishing, etc., are grouped with agriculture: in the present article agriculture includes only those actually engaged in that employment.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After crediting the so-called new employments with the last possible labor unit, the adverse balance against farm machinery alone appears to be permanent employment for 4,183,000 labor units.

Possibly the most remarkable phase of the Labor Question is the ignoring of the preponderant labor force of the basic industry. Even the Federal Commissioner of Labor seems to attribute vastly more importance to an industry which employed in 1890 less than 10,000 people than to one which employed a labor force exceeding by more than 3,000,000 units that engaged in all American manufactures. In the discussion of this subject, both in THE FORUM and in "The Chautau-

TABLE NO. 4.

VOCATIONS.	Credit. Units Employed in Alleged New Vocations.	Debit. Units Driven from the Farm by Machinery.
Farm labor displaced by machinery in twenty years.	.....	4,430,000
Stenographers, makers and users of typewriters ...	35,135	
Street-railway workers.....	70,764	
Telegraphs, telephones, etc	72,785	
Makers and repairers of bicycles.....	2,203	
Celluloid	1,023	
High explosives.....	820	
Artificial ice	3,265	
Cash and car registers	845	
Shoddy.....	2,300	
Cotton-seed oil and cake.....	6,301	
Petroleum, refiners, etc	12,471	
Photography and photolithography.....	13,230	
Making and repairing sewing machines.....	11,296	
Wood-pulp industries	4,432	
Spurious butter	328	
Rubber clothing and elastic goods.....	9,802	247,000
Adverse balance against farm machinery alone..	.....	4,183,000

quan," he has omitted to notice the fact that in the 20 years during which we were furnishing 1,905,000 new farms with an entire equipment of agricultural machinery, and renewing the equipment of 2,660,000 older ones, *the Census shows the units employed in making all agricultural machinery actually decreasing from 3,811 in 1870 to 3,755 in 1890; while the implements which the reduced force was making destroyed employment equivalent to constant work for seven-eighths as many people as were engaged in 1890 in all manufacturing industries.* In view of such facts, is it permissible to ask when, where, and how any or all of this machinery really *made* labor in the aggregate?

In THE FORUM for February, 1898, on page 672, which is substantially

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a transcript of page 255 of his official report for 1886, Mr. Wright shows how increasingly difficult it will be to find external markets for manufactures, because of an increasing number of "machine-using" nations, and that Americans and the French, in taking possession of their own markets with machine-made goods, drove out the machine-made wares of Britain; thus displacing British labor with American and French machinery.

The great facility with which Britain was able, when the one great "machine user," to appropriate employment needed by other populations, is shown by the fact that between 1854 and 1896, with a population increase of but 42 per cent, exports of cotton cloth increased 210 per cent, and those of woollens 75 per cent, and that, while meeting increasing home requirements for metals, the exports of iron and steel rose from 1,200,000 tons in 1854 to 4,354,000 in 1882, or 263 per cent. Exports of iron and steel, however, declined 23 per cent between 1882 and 1896; the shrinkage registering the efficiency of American and other machinery in displacing labor employed in Britain's metal trade. This displacement differs only in degree from Britain's earlier displacement with machine-made cloths of millions of the hand-loom weavers of India.

A significant displacement is indicated by exports of British stockings, which rose from 613,000 dozen pairs in 1865 to 1,822,000 in 1884, or 197 per cent. Since 1884, however, exports have declined 56 per cent; only 794,000 dozen pairs going abroad in 1896. The consequent loss of employment in Britain is directly chargeable to new machines brought into use in America and elsewhere, and shows that the employment of "machine-using" Americans in making goods previously imported does displace labor—even if it happens to be European labor.

But what of the future? During twenty years farms were added at the rate of 95,000 per annum, on which were placed an average of 540,000 units annually. New farms absorbed and employed the equivalent of the 8,050,000 immigrants reaching our shores in the twenty years, and some 2,750,000 others born in America or immigrating earlier.

Instead of the farm absorbing, as heretofore, one-fourth more people than we import, it will hereafter pour a constant stream of employment seekers into the urban districts—unless the surplus labor units born upon the farm shall be placed in a standing army.

That the anticipated progressive displacement of labor by machinery is not imaginary, is apparent from innumerable facts, among which may be named that the setting of tobacco and other plants is effected by ma-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chines; that the seed potato is cut by one machine and planted by another, while the product is dug by a third; that the "self-feeder" of the threshing-machine displaces two men; while "blast-stackers" and gasoline engines will, when in general use, reduce the labor of threshing 75,000,000 acres of grain annually in the equivalent of constant work for 150,000 men; that the "Two-Row" cultivator will displace labor in cultivating 110,000,000 acres of rowed crops in the equivalent of constant employment for 130,000 men; that in the pastoral regions the "hand-shearer" has been displaced by machines making 3,000 clips per minute; that Mr. Edison is, with a handful of men, demolishing mountains and converting them into iron ore and building-sand, while on the Mesaba range the steam-shovel now mines and loads ore which displaces that formerly mined at an average labor cost of one dollar per ton; that the pneumatic atomizer enables one unskilled laborer to paint more freight cars than can fifteen skilled hand-workers, while with the eight-pound pneumatic hammer the workman drives more nails, rivets more boilers, caulks more seams, and cuts more stone than can twenty men with older appliances. The list of such recently invented labor-lessening and employment-destroying devices is endless.

Till recent years no enduring dearth of employment has resulted in the United States—only, however, because of an existing safety-valve in the arable public domain, and because we were one of a very limited number of machine-using peoples. But Germany having in the latter respect become our peer; Russia, with a vast population, being ready to follow her example; Japan, already a machine user on a large and rapidly increasing scale; China, about to be forced to become such; India, a large and increasing user of cotton machinery, and almost ready once more to ship her textiles to Europe; nearly all Central and Eastern Europe preparing to compete with the Western nations,—under these conditions it is probably not too early to ask, what the situation is likely to be when a thousand millions or more, who inhabit countries now using little, if any, machinery, shall become machine users and compete with the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium for external markets—and where such markets are likely to be found.

C. Wood Davis.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS AND LEGENDS.

UNTIL twelve years old I could speak only *nin-gaw odaw-naw-naw* (my mother-tongue). Before then I had bitter thoughts of the white men; regarding them as robbers of the worst sort, and destitute of all love or sympathy for our race. When I saw them I fled and hid myself, like the young partridge from the hawk.

About that time I became acquainted with Edward Coles, a travelling Indian missionary, who frequently called at our wigwam in Pokagon, my father's village, in Southwestern Michigan. He had had a fair English education, and was a fine Christian teacher. He saw how bitterly I felt toward the dominant race, and often told me that the better class were as good as our own people, and that I was very prejudiced. No doubt this was the case, and was due to the fact, that the white men who generally came in contact with the Indians were the worst of their kind. He also said that numbers of white men believed in Kigi Manito,—the God we worshipped,—and that many, many years before, He had sent from Waw-kwi (Heaven) to their forefathers His son Jesus, whom they murdered, and that He arose from the dead, and ascended to Heaven; that He now there stood, with open arms, ready to receive all who put their trust in Him; and that when life was ended here, they would dwell with Him in Waw-kwi forever. I could not understand how white men could be so good as red men, and yet be guilty of taking the life of a noble chief who had come to save them. I inquired of him if those white men who had brought ruin upon our people, by selling them fire-water, would be permitted to enter the garden of Waw-kwi. He claimed that if they would quit their accursed business, and humbly repent, and try to repair the great wrong they had done, it was barely possible they might enter the land of promise. This noble Christian missionary greatly impressed me with the wonderful things white men could do, through the mighty inventions and discoveries they had made; and these so excited my love of the marvellous, that my youthful heart thirsted night and day to drink from the fountain of knowledge at the white man's school.

About this time my dear father died; and, soon after, my mother,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the advice of one of the Catholic Fathers, sent me to Notre Dame School, near South Bend, Indiana, where I remained four or five years. But, desiring a more liberal education than I was likely to get there, I sought out my old missionary friend Coles, and laid before him my great anxiety to go to school at Oberlin, Ohio, where race and color were disregarded. The good man finally persuaded my mother to send me to that school. I was about to leave home, when, to my surprise, some of the older members of the Pokagon band objected to my going to the white man's school; believing it would displease the Great Spirit for a son of the Great Chief, who had passed into the hunting-ground beyond, to attend the Pale-face school.

I listened to their admonitions and advice; well knowing their objection was too weak for consideration. Yet, I must confess that their words lingered about my heart, and worried me, in spite of all my reasoning; and I said to myself, "Pokagon, such superstition you must inherit from your race." I was troubled; for I thought I should not be able to compete in my studies with white class-mates, who would have better sense than to worry over that which they did not believe.

A short time after this I mentioned to one of the most intelligent of my class-mates, that on the following day I was going into an advanced class. He replied, "You had better wait until Monday." "Why so?" I asked. "Because," said he, "to-morrow is Friday—an unlucky day—and very likely, if you start then, you will always be at the tail-end of your class." This foolish suggestion, coming from such a source, fairly staggered me; and yet it encouraged me to know that my rival had weak points like those which had lessened my faith in myself.

Notwithstanding the superstitions of our Algonquin fathers, they were no idol-worshippers. Their "religion" taught them that each mountain, stream, and lake had its spirit that governed and ruled over it. They also believed that some deity controlled the winds and waves, and rode upon the clouds; commanding the storm, and guiding the whirlwind in its course.

They believed in four sister-deities, who controlled the four seasons of the year. Bi-bon (Winter) brought down from the north *agon* (the snow), and, with her chilly fingers, touched the lakes and streams; leaving them ice-bound, until her sister Sig-wan (Spring) came. She, with her warm breath, melted the snow and ice; letting the imprisoned lakes and streams go free, clothing the naked trees in robes of green, covering the earth with grass and fragrant flowers, filling the air with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

song-birds and insect life, and the waters with fish, and working with might and main until the arrival of her sister Ne-bin (Summer) on hasty wings, to help on the work Sig-wan had so well begun. Man, beasts, and fowls sought the shade, to avoid the scorching sunshine of her face. Last of all, the oldest sister, Baw-waw-gi (Autumn), came to ripen all the fruit, grain, and nuts; painting in gold and red the forest leaves, which for a few short days flaunted their glories in the breeze, then shed themselves, leaving their parent branches to combat with the winter's storms.

Our forefathers did not grasp the grand idea of an infinite, all-wise being whose presence is everywhere. Hence they believed that these deities, scattered throughout the world, were the agents of a mighty chief, one Mi-chi Ogaw-maw, who ruled all the rest. They saw the beauty of his face in the rainbow; the majesty of his eyes flashed in the clouds; the terror of his voice thundered in the storm, rumbled in the earthquake, and roared in the sea. They taught their children, that Ke-sus (the sun) represented the eyes of this mighty Kigi Manito by day; that Te-bik Kesus and Anong (the moon and stars) were his eyes by night; and that they could not hide their words[1] or acts from him.

Our traditions show most clearly that the children were obedient to their parents, kind to the old and unfortunate, and respectful to all. They had no cigarettes to smoke, no fire-water to drink, no saloons to lounge in. As a race they were held in great Nature's lap, close to her heart: they listened to her words, and obeyed, as they understood them. All believed in the immortality of the soul.

I never saw nor heard of an Indian atheist. Their Heaven was not paved with gold and precious stones; but it was a grand, romantic paradise of forests and wide, extended plains,—filled with beasts and birds, with lakes and streams swarming with fish close to shore,—where want never came, and where all were contented and happy.

Among the most ancient traditions of our race is one that our first parents found themselves here surrounded by beasts of prey without number, whose physical strength far exceeded theirs, and whose young had greater strength and more knowledge than the Indian children. Stones and clubs were used for weapons, until the bow and arrow were invented; and but for the fact, that a *manito* was impressed upon the human countenance, before which the fiercest brute stood in awe, our

[1] Indians never swear in their own language; and, as they generally believe all white men to be Christians, they do not understand why so many should indulge in profanity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first parents and their children would have been destroyed from off the face of the earth.

The Great Flood.

One very remarkable character reported in our legends, dimly seen through the mist of untold centuries, is Kwi-wi-sens Nenaw-bo-zhoo, meaning, in Algonquin dialect, "The greatest clown-boy in the world." When he became a man, he was not only a great prophet among his people, but a giant of such marvellous strength, that he could wield his war-club with force enough to shatter in pieces the largest pine-tree. His hunting-dog was a monstrous black wolf, as large as a full-grown buffalo, with long, soft hair, and eyes that shone in the night like the moon. The deity of the sea saw the charming beauty of this wolf-dog, and was so extremely jealous of him, that he was determined to take his life. So he appeared before him in the form of a deer; and as the dog rushed to seize him, he was grasped by the deity and drowned in the depths of the sea. He then made a great barbecue and invited as his guests whales, serpents, and all the monsters of the deep, that they might exult and rejoice with him that he had slain the dog of the prophet.

When the seer-clown learned of the fate of his noble dog, through cunning Waw-goosh (the fox), whose keen eyes saw the deception that cost the wolf-dog his life, he sought to take revenge upon the sea-god. So he went at once to the place where the latter was accustomed to come on land with his monster servants to bathe in the sunshine, and there concealed himself among the tall rushes until the "caravan of the deep" came ashore. When they had fallen fast asleep, he drew his giant bow, twice as long as he was tall, and shot a poisoned arrow that pierced Neben Manito, the water-god, through the heart. Neben Manito rolled into the sea, and cried, "Revenge! Revenge!" Then all the assembled monsters of the deep rushed headlong after the slayer of their king. The prophet fled in consternation before the outraged creatures that hurled after him mountains of water, which swept down the forests like grass before the whirlwind. He continued to flee before the raging flood, but could find no dry land. In sore despair he then called upon the God of Heaven to save him, when there appeared before him a great canoe, in which were pairs of all kinds of land-beasts and birds, being rowed by a most beautiful maiden, who let down a rope and drew him up into the boat.

The flood raged on; but, though mountains of water were continu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally being hurled after the prophet, he was safe. When he had floated on the water many days, he ordered Aw-mik (the beaver) to dive down and, if he could reach the bottom, to bring up some earth. Down the latter plunged, but in a few minutes came floating to the surface lifeless. The prophet pulled him into the boat, blew into his mouth, and he became alive again. He then said to Waw-jashk (the musk-rat), "You are the best diver among all the animal creation. Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth, out of which I will create a new world; for we cannot much longer live on the face of the deep."

Down plunged the musk-rat; but, like the beaver, he, too, soon came to the surface lifeless, and was drawn into the boat, whereupon the prophet blew into *his* mouth, and he became alive again. In his paw, however, was found a small quantity of earth, which the prophet rolled into a small ball, and tied to the neck of Ka-ke-gi (the raven), saying, "Go thou, and fly to and fro over the surface of the deep, that dry land may appear." The raven did so; the waters rolled away; the world resumed its former shape; and, in course of time, the maiden and prophet were united and repeopled the world.

Pictures of God Before and After He Made the World.

About forty years ago two Indians, who were cutting cord-wood near Little Traverse village, one day returned in great haste, pale and excited, to Kaw-kee, their employer, saying, "Oh Kaw-kee, we cut down this morning a large maple-tree; and when we had sawn off the butt cut, behold, we found painted on the end of the log a figure of God before He made the world! It seemed so strange and wonderful that we dared not stay longer on the work; feeling sure that something awful would happen if we did." I will complete the story as it was told me by Kaw-kee about the time it occurred:

"Well," said he, "I laughed at them for such foolish superstition. They then tried to get me to return with them and examine the strange picture. I was sick at the time, and persuaded them to go back and saw off a thin piece of the log, and bring it to me, that I might see the picture for myself.

They started off very reluctantly. Returning in about two hours more excited than before, they exclaimed, 'Oh Kaw-kee, we have cut off the end of the log as you requested; and, as it fell picture-side to the ground—*Na! Mash-kee!* On the other side was a plain figure of God after He had made the world. And we do not dare to meddle further with it, for we feel that something dreadful will happen if we do.' On

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the following day I went with them to see what had so alarmed them, and to soothe their fears, if possible.

I must confess that as we approached the fallen tree I felt a curious sort of awe about my heart. I picked up the slice of wood which they had sawn off, and looked it carefully over on both sides. I was indeed astonished; for on each side Nature had traced a wonderful picture!"

At this point I became so intensely interested in his wonderful story, that I said, "Kaw-kee, what has become of that piece of wood?"

"Here it is," he replied; handing it to me as he stepped to one corner of his wigwam.

It was indeed a natural curiosity, well calculated to deceive anyone. On one side appeared the figure of a man with folded arms, and with a blanket wrapped about him, standing in what appeared to be the outlines of the segment of a rainbow. This had been regarded as a picture of God *before* He made the world. On the other side, appeared the same figure, with the right arm extended at full length, holding in his right hand a large ball, apparently in the act of throwing it. This had been considered to be a picture of God *after* He had made the world.

On close inspection, I saw that these pictures were caused in some way by the growth of the timber. The heart, or red part, of the wood forming the figures was surrounded by the white of the wood, which made the outlines clear. As I looked first at one side, and then at the other, I said to myself, "Those pictures might deceive the very elect."

Indian Spiritualism.

There is a tradition among the Ottawa branch of the great Algonquin family, believed to this day, that, centuries ago, their first parents migrated westward from the sea-coast, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and settled in the valley of the Ottawa River in Canada, where they lived for untold centuries, and that their main village was at a place they named Ke-tchi-nebis-sing, which name it still bears. There a daughter of the chief of the village went down to the lake to bathe one morning; leaving her infant boy tied to a flat piece of wood, as was the custom. On returning to the spot where she had left her child, he could nowhere be found. Distracted, she ran back to the village; frantically screaming that her child had been stolen. The villagers turned out and searched long and well; but not a trace of the child could be found.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A few days after this two young lovers sat on a mound near the spot where the child had been lost; and while they were kissing and making love, they were startled by hearing, deep in the ground beneath them, an infant crying and sobbing as if its heart would break. They ran in great haste to the village, and reported what they had heard. All the inhabitants believed that it was the lost child which had been heard crying underground. The old chief called together all the magicians,—as is the custom to this day, where the Indians are not under the influence of Christianity,—to hold a *séance*, for communion with the unseen spirits, to divine what had become of the child. I will here briefly describe the manner in which Indians proceed to receive communications from the spiritual world, as I have myself witnessed.

Poles, ten to twelve feet high, are set in the ground, in the form of a circle from six to eight feet in diameter. The top of the lodge is left open. The sides are tightly covered with birch-bark, or the skins of animals. A fire is built close to the lodge for the purpose of enabling the spectators to light their pipes, as they generally smoke during the strange performance. All being ready, a low, tinkling sound is heard, like several small bells at a distance. With a rush, on comes the leading performer, carrying a magician's little, flat rattle-box, somewhat like a tambourine. He sits down by the fire, and begins by telling his audience how he can call up spirits of the dead, as well as of those yet living in the world, and that any present can ask them questions and receive true answers thereto. He next sings a peculiar song, which can scarcely be understood. He then either goes into the lodge by crawling under, or sits outside with the audience; throwing his blanket or some other clothing over the top of it. Immediately the lodge begins to shake, like a creature of life with an ague chill. Then is heard in the lodge a sound like that of a distant, strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingled with strange voices. When questions are asked by anyone present they are always answered in an unknown tongue; but, luckily, among the spirits there is always a special interpreter to explain what the spirits say.

According to the tradition above referred to, when the performance closed a party was sent to the lake to dig near where the lost child was left by its mother. They did so; and, as deep down in the ground as they were tall, they found the remains of the child in a cavern, from which fled, through an underground channel into the lake, a spirit monster. The magicians then declared that the country was ruled by Mau-tchi Manito, the evil one, who was an enemy seeking to do them all the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

harm possible; that all the misfortunes which had befallen them came from that source alone; and that their only means of safety was to seek a new land toward the setting sun. Thus it was, that those tribes of the great valley of the Ottawa moved westward along the northern limits of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan and all about Ot-chip-we-ki-tchi-gami (Lake Superior), where many of them remain to this day.

Origin of our Tribal Flower—the Trailing Arbutus.

Many, many moons ago, there lived an old man alone in his lodge beside a stream in the thick woods. He was heavily clad in furs; for it was winter, and all the world was covered with snow and ice. The winds swept through the woods; searching every bush and tree for birds to chill, and chasing evil spirits over high hills, through tangled swamps, and valleys deep. The old man went about, and peered vainly in the deep snow for pieces of wood to sustain the fire in his lodge. Sitting down by the last dying embers, he cried to Kigi Manito Waw-kwi (the God of Heaven) that he might not perish. The winds howled, and blew aside the door of his lodge, when in came a most beautiful maiden. Her cheeks were like red roses; her eyes were large, and glowed like the fawn's in the moonlight; her hair was long and black as the raven's plumes, and touched the ground as she walked; her hands were covered with willow-buds; on her head were wreaths of wild flowers; her clothing was sweet grass and ferns; her moccasons were fair white lilies; and, when she breathed, the air of the lodge became warm and fragrant. The old man said, "My daughter, I am indeed glad to see you. My lodge is cold and cheerless; yet it will shield you from the tempest. But tell me who you are, that you should come to my lodge in such strange clothing. Come, sit down here, and tell me of thy country and thy victories, and I will tell thee of my exploits. For I am Manito." He then filled two pipes with tobacco, that they might smoke together as they talked. When the smoke had warmed the old man's tongue, again he said, "I am Manito. I blow my breath, and the lakes and streams become flint." The maiden answered, "I breathe, and flowers spring up on all the plains." The old man replied, "I breathe, and the snow covers all the earth." "I shake my tresses," returned the maiden, "and warm rains fall from the clouds." "When I walk about," answered the old man, "leaves wither and fall from the trees. At my command the animals hide themselves in the ground, and the fowls forsake the waters and fly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

away. Again I say, 'I am Manito.'" The maiden made answer: "When I walk about, the plants lift up their heads, and the naked trees robe themselves in living green; the birds come back; and all who see me sing for joy. Music is everywhere." As they talked the air became warmer and more fragrant in the lodge; and the old man's head drooped upon his breast, and he slept. Then the sun came back, and the bluebirds came to the top of the lodge and sang, "We are thirsty. We are thirsty." And Sebin (the river) replied, "I am free. Come, come and drink." And while the old man was sleeping, the maiden passed her hand over his head; and he began to grow small. Streams of water poured out of his mouth; very soon he became a small mass upon the ground; and his clothing turned to withered leaves.

Then the maiden kneeled upon the ground, took from her bosom the most precious pink and white flowers, and, hiding them under the faded leaves, and breathing upon them, said: "I give you all my virtues, and all the sweetness of my breath; and all who would pick thee shall do so on bended knees."

Then the maiden moved away through the woods and over the plains; all the birds sang to her; and wherever she stepped, and nowhere else, grows our tribal flower—the trailing arbutus.

God's Kettle.

About two hundred and fifty years ago Weme-gen-debay, a noted chief and a great hunter, discovered, while hunting in the wilderness east of Traverse Bay, Michigan, a great kettle made of pure copper. It was nearly covered with earth; and the roots of large trees had grown over and around it. When taken out of the ground it had the appearance of never having been used. The kettle was so large that a full-grown bear could be cooked whole in it. It was regarded as *Manito aukick* (God's kettle). Hence it was considered a sacred relic, was treated with a sort of reverential awe, and was kept securely hidden in a wild retreat unfrequented by man; never being used except when Tchibekan-kewin (the feast for the dead) was celebrated.

When the Indians in the Grand Traverse region became civilized this magic kettle lost its sacred influence, and was used to boil maple sap to sugar, instead of for cooking bear at feasts. Blackbird, a noted Indian now living at Harbor Springs, Michigan, as late as 1840, made a bail for this kettle while he was at work in the Government blacksmith-shop at the old Mission on Grand Traverse Bay. When I asked him,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a short time since, what had become of that magic kettle, he replied, "I do not know, but must believe Manito has taken it home; for it disappeared as mysteriously as it came."

Thanksgiving Feasts, and Feasts for the Dead.

In the spring-time of each year our forefathers held Ma-gosh-e-win —a religious feast of prayer and thanksgiving,—rejoicing that winter had passed, and that all nature was alive again. At such times they erected in the centre of their camping-ground a high pole, on which they hung all their old, cast-off garments. Around this pole men, women, and children would sing and dance. The prayer of their song was, that Kigi Manito, who had brought back Ke-sus, the sun,—melting the snow and unlocking the ice-bound lakes and streams,—would look down upon his dependent children with love and compassion, and give them peace and plenty through another year. After the close of this feast they celebrated the feast for the dead.

All would march among the camp-fires; shaking hands whenever they met, singing in plaintive tones, "Ne-baw-baw-tchi-baw-yew ash-an-dis-win at-chak ne-bod" ("We are wandering about as spirits feeding the souls of the dead"), and at the same time eating, and throwing part of their food into the fire. This practice of feasting the dead, and of burying their weapons and utensils with them, was done in the same spirit as that in which the dominant race provides clothing, flowers, and marble for its dead. I believe there is no race on earth that has more reverence for its dead than ours. Our greatest sorrow, in being driven from our homes, has been our separation from the graves of our fathers, which we loved so much.

No greater insult can be given to Indians than to speak evil of their dead; for, say they, "The dead cannot speak for themselves; and the living that will not defend them are worse than Mau-tchi Manito (the Devil)."

Love and Marriage.

My feelings have often been mortified in reading in American histories that it was a custom among our people to marry for so many moons. There never was a greater misstatement. All our traditions most clearly show that, in our primitive state, we were a very virtuous people. Love and marriage were regarded as of divine origin. The false reports quoted in histories were made by white fur-traders, who, in early days, came among us, and, in order to get in closer touch with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our people, intermarried. They afterward deserted their Indian wives and children; returning to their own people, and branding us with the lie in order to hide their own shame.

When our boys and girls become warmly attached to each other, they confidentially talk the matter over with their parents, who always sympathize with them in their love affairs; for, believe me, our children are never laughed at and tormented, as is the case with white people, as though it were a crime to fall in love.

When lovers are married they repeat, generally in presence of both families, the following: "We now marry each other for life, before all our friends, now here assembled, by the command of the Great Spirit, who has united our hearts in one."

Then the lovers simply join hands; their lips in mutual concert meet, and the marriage-knot is tied for life.

The Sacred White Deer.

There is a very old superstition, still extant among our people, that white, or albino deer—which are very rare—are sacred. They have for time out of mind been called *Manito sucsee wabe* ("the sacred white deer").

It is believed that if anyone should shoot at and miss a white deer, he would be sick in consequence; and, that should he kill one, death would soon be the result. I once encamped while hunting with a white man for partner. Returning to our lodge one night, I told him how, during the day, I had had a chance to kill a most beautiful white buck, having the most perfect antlers I had ever seen, but that I had not had the heart to take his life, for I had always heard our old hunters say that the white deer was sacred, and that they never knew a hunter who killed one to live long. He called me many hard names, and among other things, said: "Pokagon, you are as superstitious as an uneducated redskin. Don't you know anything? Why, we could have sold that deer for more than fifty dollars!"

Yet this same man, a few days later, when we had started on our morning hunt, went back to the lodge, a distance of at least half a mile, to get an old horse-chestnut which he claimed had brought him good luck for years.

He would not hunt on Friday; fearing he might get shot. I suggested to him one Friday morning that, if he should fill his pockets with chestnuts, he would be perfectly safe. He talked very eloquently to me for some time; but he did not thank me for my advice.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In conclusion, permit Pokagon to say that he once thought that man's proneness to trust in superstitions was such a reflection on his natural ability, as to declare him unworthy of being considered spiritual and immortal. But, after having associated with the dominant race, as well as his own, for more than fifty years, and after having learned that trust in superstitions creeps into the hearts of all races, whether savage, or civilized and enlightened, he has been forced to a contrary opinion; and he now believes with all his heart, that such trust in superstitions most emphatically declares that man is spiritual and immortal, and has a higher life beyond the grave. In fact, it appears to him just as natural for man to trust in some intelligence higher than himself, who he believes brought him into being, as it is for children to trust in their parents.

As reasonable beings, without prejudice, we cannot for a moment believe that heathen who bow down to idols, or savages who trust in totums, or the civilized who have faith in mascots, believe there is any power in the object itself, but simply that there is somehow or other, a spiritual intelligence connected with it, which they cannot understand or explain, independent of the thing itself. They only know that it satisfies their nature to confide in it. As beings of common sense, we cannot believe otherwise than that their feelings are akin to those of the little girl who pets and caresses her doll, sleeps with it; and embraces it with all the tenderness of a devoted mother, and yet not for a moment believes it real. She is actuated to love and caress it in order to satisfy that parent love born in her own soul, which the God of nature has so wisely implanted in the breast of all human-kind.

Those mother-like caresses of the little girl, as she plays with her doll, declare no more emphatically to our reason that she inherits maternal love, than do those acts of rational beings who idolize totums and mascots declare that they are spiritual beings connected in some way with a higher Intelligence, who created them and governs all, and to whom all are accountable in this life and in the life to come. Pokagon does not wish to be understood, because he has reasoned by way of analogy in proof of spirituality, that he wishes to encourage idol-worship, after the relation between God and man has been revealed to men. Nor can he understand how it is possible for true Christians to trust or confide in anything this side of eternity beyond the revealed God of Heaven, to satisfy their spiritual wants. SIMON POKAGON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN DRAMA.—II.

BISMARCK'S unbounded popularity in Germany will be readily understood when considered in relation to that historical development which I briefly indicated in my first article.[1] In Bismarck the Germans recognize not only the great statesman, but the redeemer of the nation,—the man who understood and consummated the realization of all its secret desires and hopes.

At the same time he has given expression to the highest aspirations of the German soul in pregnant words and sayings which have ever struck home, and which have been instantly understood and greeted with enthusiasm by all classes. Indeed, if we consider them our poets whose heart-stirring words live on forever, and if their greatness be measured by the extent of their influence, then Prince Bismarck may be aptly styled the greatest German poet of the nineteenth century.

Like all great men of German birth, Bismarck unites within himself the two conflicting elements which characterize the spirit of the German nation—a strong love for its nationality, and the faculty to penetrate beyond the national barrier. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there is no one more thoroughly German than Bismarck. His private life and domestic intercourse are those of the German *pater familias*. In every detail of his daily life, in all his habits and inclinations, he reveals the true son of the Fatherland. Like the German of Tacitus, he loves his horses and hounds; like the German student of the present day, he smokes his pipe and drinks his beer; and a simple German folk-song moves this powerful nature to tears.

Side by side with these characteristics, yet totally different from them in material points, we discern an extraordinary power, which far transcends the limits of nationality. For the ideas of this man are not only free from abstractions, but are ever characterized by a sense of reality which carries with it a power of conviction. Dreams and sentiments are foreign to his nature, which is distinguished by concentrative action.

[1] Dr. WILDENBRUCH'S first article on "The Evolution of the German Drama" appeared in THE FORUM for May, 1898.—ED.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Endowed with an iron will, Bismarck pursues his purpose with unyielding tenacity. Free from that shrinking timidity which so frequently characterizes the intercourse of Germans with strangers, he faces all men with a candor founded upon a firm reliance on truth, and with a pride and faith in his nationality which neither disappointments nor reverses can shake.

Bismarck must have appeared to the German people as a celestial messenger; and truly it was a gift from heaven that he bestowed on them when, in 1870, he restored the German Empire. For, to the Germans, whose political ideas are so largely associated with sentiment, the Empire is something more than a mere form of government. In it they behold the incarnation of their deepest longings, the abrogation of all the evils from which they so long suffered, and the reunion with those traditions which had ever been to them a fruitful source of inspiration.

Nothing could be more expressive of this rebirth of the German nation than the legend of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa sleeping in his enchanted watch-tower on the Kyfferhäusen until the ravens shall cease their flight around the mountain. Amid degradation and despair this legend, so deeply rooted in the heart of the German people, and the eternal theme of innumerable poets, had at last become an article of the political code, which framed itself into three leading questions: (1) When will Germany once more have an Emperor? (2) Upon whose head will the Imperial crown be placed? (3) Will Strasburg be regained? In 1870 all these questions were answered. We have now to consider how these events influenced dramatic art.

A long time elapsed before a revival of the drama took place; for the German mind is slow and deliberate in action. But there is another fact which must be borne in mind in this connection; namely, that the literary leaders of that period were unable to grapple with the new conditions. These men were the last representatives of the school known as "Young Germany"; and they had grown old, unfruitful, and embittered. Only the younger generation greeted the year 1866 with enthusiasm: the older generation held aloof, and assumed a doubtful, if not repellant, attitude. The ideal of 1848, the "Revolution from below," had been the ideal after which it had striven. The "Revolution from above," which had now transpired, was not understood, and only aroused mistrust; and when, finally, the year 1870 removed all grounds for suspicion, this generation was no longer vigorous enough to participate in the general rejoicing, but became silent and morose.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From men of this type a new departure was not to be expected. Still less, however, was to be accomplished by those who, although vigorously active, nevertheless continued to follow the path of "Young Germany," without possessing the talent of many of their predecessors in that school.

I pass over this interval, in which little or nothing of consequence was accomplished. It was characterized by neither deep emotions nor great ideas. The sole aim of the *literati* of that time was to discover for Germany a species of dramatic art modelled upon that of the French theatre,—the drama of modern society and of the *salon*. Such a tendency was bound to lead to purely artificial productions, because the conception of society and of the *salon*, peculiar to France, is entirely foreign to Germany. It is a humiliating fact, that immediately after the tragic events of 1866 and 1870 the German theatres were thrown wide open to these productions; for they offered nothing that the heart of the German people desired,—nothing indeed but a species of unreal drama embellished with appropriations from the works of former masters.

How deeply corruption had permeated the literature of that period no one realized more keenly than the author himself, when, in the latter part of the seventies, he wrote his plays on German and English history and found all the German theatres closed against them like a solid wall.

As the leader of a movement whose artistic aim is the union of tragic human destinies with great historical events, I may perhaps be permitted, without the charge of egotism, to say a few words concerning the ideas which influenced me in the conception of these dramas. I was convinced of two things: First, that a revival of true sentiment could be brought about only by demonstrating to the public that there were questions of greater importance to humanity than matrimonial difficulties and divorce cases patterned on French models; and, second, that the time had come when a return to true dramatic art was possible, and that the opportunity which then presented itself, if not utilized, might never return.

Germany had now reached its maturity in a political sense; and only for a strong nation can historico-political dramas be written. I have aimed in this direction, and must leave the rest to fate. When I entered upon this career, it required considerable courage to write as I did—courage to break the spell that superficiality of sentiment and frivolity had cast over the land and people. To-day this spell is broken;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the theatres have begun to realize that success may be obtained without recourse to trivialities.

The improvement of the German stage dates from the day when the great passions of history once more stirred a responsive chord in the hearts of the German people, by reminding them of their own great deeds in the past.

We have come now to the latest phase in the development of the German drama, a discussion of which, however, is, for me, attended with some difficulty, inasmuch as I am myself involved in the controversy, as the representative of a tendency which it is deemed necessary to abrogate; and it is no easy task for a soldier to prepare in the midst of the battle a dispassionate statement of facts. Nevertheless, I shall endeavor to do this as far as possible from an objective point of view.

After the great successes which led to the establishment of the German Empire, there appeared a new generation,—a generation which grew up with a sentiment totally different from that which for centuries had characterized the spirit of the German youth. The youthful generations of the past, as soon as they had attained a sufficient degree of maturity, had ever recognized the political condition of Germany as an evil; and, consequently, they looked to the future for the realization of their hopes and aspirations. The new generation which sprang up after the war everywhere beheld well-regulated and new conditions. All that its ancestors had with might and main contended for had passed to it as a snug and comfortable possession. In a word, the German youth of the past had grown up hungry; while now, for the first time, a sated generation appeared. Satiety, however, is a dangerous condition, particularly for the German: for the nature of the German is not light-hearted, but gloomy; and he is greater in adversity than in prosperity. Even Tacitus, in his narrative, tells us that the German, on returning from war or the chase, feasted, drank, and gambled away house and home, wife and freedom. Like the progeny of one who, by dint of hard toil, accumulated a fortune, the new generation forgot the hardships of their progenitors. They knew nothing of the rage and antagonism which the unification of Germany had encountered abroad; for the former enemies of Germany were such no longer.

Furthermore, Germany was now wealthier than formerly; and affluence and luxury enervate the soul. The antagonism between the educated and the uneducated classes, to which I referred in my first paper, now again manifested itself in a very disagreeable manner. The younger *literati*, who had never smelled powder, looked disdainfully upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

masses that were everywhere assembling to celebrate the anniversaries of their national victories. They even went so far as to invent infamous epithets, such as "Hurrah, Canaille!" for example, in order fitly to express their estimate of the people.

Yet, notwithstanding all that has been said, the youths of this period were thoroughly German at heart. They, too, were filled with that element of longing, peculiar to the German people. In their satiety, however, they did not know what to desire. Finally, help came from without. The Norwegian poets appeared on the horizon. First came Björnson, who was warmly received in Germany. And this was well; for Björnson is a great poet who writes from the heart. He introduced no foreign element; for the Scandinavian spirit is kindred to that of Germany. Both are subdivisions of one original race, the various members of which, though sometimes at enmity, nevertheless understand one another. Björnson is an enthusiast; and his influence upon Germany—a nation which requires the stimulus of enthusiasm—was naturally most favorable. But, unfortunately for Germany, this poet was soon displaced by a second Norwegian, Ibsen,—I say unfortunately, although I am conscious of the fact that this opinion is at variance with that of the cultivated circles of Germany. For, although Ibsen ranks as a far greater poet than Björnson, he is in reality much the inferior of the latter. All the elements that Björnson possesses and that stamp him as a true poet—enthusiasm, ardor, and confidence in the greatness of human nature—are lacking in Ibsen, who merely possesses a keen, incisive, and even an astute power of reasoning.

One of Ibsen's dramas is conceived in a truly great style, and carried out upon broad dramatic lines,—the historical drama, "Die Kronprätendenten" ("The Pretenders to the Crown"). This work, however, has met with but little favor at the hands of the critics, who gaze in astonishment upon Ibsen's other works, without perceiving that these are nothing more than dramatized epilogues to an action which had previously taken place, and that the actors in these dramas bear the consequences, not of their own deeds, but of the deeds or misdeeds of their ancestors.

This very doubtful transformation of what may be considered the universal law of the drama, namely, that man steps upon the stage as the agent of his own fate, reaches its climax in the theory of heredity, which Ibsen was the first to introduce into the drama. This theory is based upon the idea that man is not a free agent, but merely an organic machine, moved by a few unhealthy impulses which he is powerless to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resist, and that, consequently, his whole life is predestined by those from whom he has inherited the tendencies of a diseased nature.

All medical authorities now admit that this theory, which was received with fanatical applause all over Europe, is founded upon a superficial adaptation of certain results of medical research, and is nothing more nor less than the dramatization of the soul-annihilating, materialistic view of life that removes the drama from the domain of the intellectual life into that of the physical. It was just the thing that our weak-spirited generation desired. All the great implements of the intellect with which mankind had hitherto wrought—will, conviction, faith—were relegated to the lumber-room; the soul of man was dethroned; and, in its place, the nervous system was proclaimed the ruling power.

The devastating influence of this superficial view of life soon began to make itself felt. Mediocrity, which ever hates the truly great and sublime, eagerly clutched at the new doctrine; and in Germany a large number of the most horrible dramas arose,—dramas modelled upon those of Ibsen, but without their strength. For Ibsen's technical ability is remarkable; and as a playwright, in the strict sense of the term, he is skilful to an extraordinary degree. This becomes apparent when we consider that he has succeeded in so constructing his dramatic epilogues that they almost impress one as being actual and complete dramas. His great power of invention and his manipulation of the dialogue also bear testimony to his skill. Upon closer acquaintance with his works, however, we find that, after the first very lively impression, they leave us cold. Why is this? Because these productions do not emanate from the soul, and are entirely without *naïveté*. In all of them a question is propounded with mathematical precision, and this question is to be solved by the *dramatis personæ;* whereas all questions affecting the well-being of mankind are really solved by both the heart and the mind of man. This, however, is not the case with Ibsen's works, which appeal solely to the brain. The voice of the emotions is so entirely repressed here, that one receives the impression that man possesses an algebraic formula instead of a heart. And herein, I believe, lies the key to the extraordinary influence of Ibsen. At all times men have sought some talisman by means of which they might solve the mystery of life. Ibsen, with his new dramatic formula, with his new doctrine of predestination, had at last brought the philosopher's stone, which all Germany eagerly accepted. That all these plays were founded upon conditions foreign to German life, did not affect the present generation,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which had again become international. Ibsen was the world of which they dreamed, the ocean in which they bathed; and whatever was not Ibsen was declared unworthy of existence and was felled to the ground.

In the meantime the national life of Germany was not extinct. On the contrary, its habitually calm pulse was agitated to fever-heat. The new topic, the Social Problem, which now occupies the mind of Europe, again found in Germany, as once before in the days of the Reformation, a more fruitful soil than elsewhere. The fire which had smouldered so long beneath the surface, now, in the shape of the social democracy, burst into a bright flame, whose sudden radiance attracted general attention.

In order to have some idea of the influence which this movement exerted upon literature, we must consider that the points involved in it specially affected all the fundamental impulses of the German soul,—tender pity for the poor and the infirm; honest hatred of plutocracy; ardent desire for higher and purer social conditions, side by side with envy, an inadaptability to circumstances, and an almost Vandalic hatred of all that beautifies and amplifies life. We can thus form some conception of the extent to which these questions affected the minds of the people and influenced their literature. All the literary youth of the period, but more particularly the dramatists, at once entered into this movement, not as impartial critics, but as radical partisans. This was perfectly natural: for youth without passion is inconceivable; and passionate injustice is the prerogative of youth. Equally comprehensible was the rather doubtful influence thus exerted upon the literature of the period. Ibsen, who in his latest works had shown a decline of that stage-craft which he once possessed, now lost his influence, partly because the æsthetic sense of the public began to perceive the absence of flesh and blood from his characters, but, more particularly, because his creations were no longer powerful enough for the rabid generation which now began to rage. A perfect uproar now ensued in the domain of literature. All the passions of the masses, liberated by the socialist agitators, began to roar in these dramas. According to these writers, the era of dramatic literature in Germany was only just beginning. The tragedy of life was only to be found among those of the fourth estate, the proletarians; nor were there anywhere, besides these, human beings capable of dramatic representation. A war of extermination was to be declared against everything which had hitherto treated of other persons and conditions,—war against existing conditions; war against capitalists; and above all, war against historical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tradition and everything associated with the Fatherland. Everything that was even remotely related to former conditions was persecuted with intense hatred. It was at this time that the disgraceful expression, "Hurrah, Canaille!" to which I have already referred, arose. Every attempt to portray higher human conditions than those of hunger and poverty was a lie. Every higher mode of expression, such as the dramatic verse, was childish. The humdrum work-a-day life, with its abject misery, was the only permissible subject of representation: the ordinary language of the lower classes was the only suitable form of expression for the drama.

Thus arose the short, but terrible, epoch of the Naturalistic drama in Germany. Impressed by the consciousness that there was not a single great talent among them, these dramatists combined to exercise their influence *en masse*. They also gained a footing in the daily press, which was utilized to circulate the propaganda for their party and to annihilate their opponents. In this way a ring was formed; and a species of terrorism arose such as had never before been known in Germany. As nearly every leading theatre was closed against these impossible productions, "Experimental Theatres," "Free Theatres," and "People's Theatres," were organized, in which the productions of the Naturalistic school might be performed.

I need not here dwell upon the fate of those who were recognized as opponents of the Naturalistic movement: the bitter hostility with which they were persecuted can well be conjectured. Noteworthy, however, as a characteristic of the period, was the fanatical and—when regarded from a national point of view—positively suicidal hatred which was directed against the name of Schiller. It is a fact that men did not scruple to make this great and glorious poet the target of the vilest ridicule,—a ridicule engendered by the furious spirit of partisanship. The validity of all past literature was called into question; and some considered the feasibility of abrogating it entirely. A literary reign of terror had broken out. Whoever among the older poets and writers desired to maintain his literary existence was compelled to become tributary to the new school. And there were actually some among the older writers who gave their literary life precedence over their moral convictions, and sacrificed the latter.

And now, what influence did these younger writers exert upon the people,—the people from whom this entire movement had apparently emanated? A simple, but well-authenticated, fact may serve to answer this question. A number of persons belonging to the working-classes,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who had attended several performances at one of the so-called "People's Theatres," were asked what they thought of these plays, in which their own daily life was portrayed. They replied, "We do not attend the theatre in order to see what we can find at home every day of our lives." "What plays, then, do you prefer?" was asked. "Schiller's," they replied, without hesitation. These questions and answers are vouched for; and I believe they furnish overwhelming proof of the important fact, that the whole Naturalistic movement was merely on paper, and that none of these Naturalistic dramatists had the faintest conception of the desires and demands of the people. It is far down among the masses that the fountains of German national life spring; and it was here that the errors of the educated classes were again corrected.

The stormy tide of Naturalism found a barrier in the passive resistance of the people,—a barrier so powerful indeed that the whole movement may now be said to have been entirely overcome. The storm has exhausted its fury; its waves have been lost in the sands; and, now that the tempest is over, let us quietly ascertain whether there exist to-day any actual dramatic forces in Germany, whether the outlook for the future is promising. The answer is not unfavorable.

There are, to-day, in the northern part of Germany, a number of creative artists whose youth and incomplete development will not, as yet, permit of a thorough survey of their work. It is indisputable, however, that they possess talent and a qualification for higher dramatic art. Vienna, also, which so long has stood in the background, now shows signs of a dramatic revival; and a hearty and popular dramatic literature, founded upon the style of Auzengruber, is beginning to appear. A new danger, however, now threatens; and the fate of the drama depends upon the manner in which it is met. The danger to which I allude lies in a possible reaction from brutal materialism, which may be again carried to an extreme. The people no longer care about rudeness and brutality: they want peace and quiet. It is to be feared, however, that they will turn not only from what is horrible, but from all that suggests the tragic element; and when this takes place, dramatic art will cease to exist, and we may possibly experience a return to that false dramatic genre to which I referred in my first paper, and which is worse than the crudest Naturalism. This desire for rest, this melting of the soul, which has lately led to a partial revival of flat and stale comedies, has also prepared the public for the reception of that species of drama known as "Mysticism" or "Symbolism," recently imported into Germany.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The term Mysticism is usually understood to imply a tendency to create another, a mystical, world over and above the realm of the senses that surrounds us. One might suppose Mysticism to be indigenous to Germany, the home of the fairy-tale,—a species of literature which may be said to bear some resemblance to Mysticism. But such is not the case. Mysticism is foreign to the German soul; and its resemblance to the fairy-tale is only an apparent one. For the fairy-tale does not dissolve the laws of nature: it merely toys with them. It is conscious of trifling with them, and smiles at its own efforts. Mysticism never smiles; its countenance is ever serious and as sour as vinegar; it believes in itself; and it denies the existence of the actual world because it despises it. Mysticism is, therefore, exactly the reverse of Naturalism, and is the reaction from this,—a reaction, however, which, in its finality, is just as baneful as Naturalism to the true spirit of poetry. Mysticism knows nothing of the fundamental principle of the art, nothing of healthy human nature, nothing of the sources from which true poetry springs, nothing of sentiment and passion.

The art which emanates from Mysticism is painted poetry. It is like a garden which contains, instead of real flowers, artificial ones tied to sticks,—flowers of paper, colored with aniline and sprayed with perfume. For this reason, Mysticism—at all times a characteristic of weak souls—may be considered the mortal enemy of high dramatic art.

Now, while there is no danger that so feeble an intellectual tendency will ever exert an influence over the German people, it may confuse the minds of a few poets and enervate their souls. Indeed, the works of several of our younger writers already bear testimony to the truth of this assertion. The creations of dramatic art are no longer judged by their spiritual fervor and power, but by their ability to awaken a certain mood. A perfectly graduated scale of artificial terms has been formed in order to characterize the impressions which this unreal species of dramatic art creates. The devotees of this school are forever lisping and whispering about intimate and esoteric influences, and seem utterly unable to realize that their hysterical conduct will only tend to render our truly virile dramatic art effeminate; for the views as well as the expressions of this school are hysterical.

It now only remains for us to inquire into the possibility of counteracting this tendency, and to ascertain by what means this may be accomplished.

I believe that the solution of the question must be left to those who recognize the true mission of dramatic art, and who are also ca-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pable of meeting its requirements. Their task, though by no means an easy one, is yet quite plain. It consists in the representation of great human destinies, in order that the minds of the people may once more be elevated above the cares and burdens of their daily life, and that the connection between the deepest instincts of the German people and the drama may be preserved. In this way the attention of the nation may be directed to the eternal sources of its strength. In short, it will be the task of this drama to gather the facts of history, to arrange them with true poetic insight, and to blend them wisely into that structure whose presence liberates the soul,—the structure which we call dramatic art.

ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do Not Wait To Be Blind.

Overwork, Nervous Strain, Habitual Misuse and Abuse of the eyes cause 90% of all Blindness today. Our most successful and humane treatment will prove a sure cure.

The Absorption Treatment

A Success;

No Knife, No Risk.

Over 75,000 treatments given at our institution in '97. Representative people from all parts of the United States and Canada endorse this institution.

Pamphlet O Free, describing home treatment and institution, the largest and most successful in America.

THE BEMIS EYE SANITARIUM.
Glens Falls, N. Y.

REGINA MUSIC BOX

The First Music Box Made in America.

PLAYS 1,000 TUNES.

Has features not to be found in any other box. One of its strong points is the simplicity of its mechanism, being a great advantage over other boxes on the market that are continually getting out of order. Runs 20 to 30 minutes with one winding and can be safely operated by a child. Wonderfully brilliant in tone, and plays all the latest music. For Hotels and Public Places the **ORCHESTRAL REGINA,** the largest music box made, is a big money-maker.

Catalogues and Prices furnished upon application by any of our Wholesale Selling Agents.

Sherman, Clay & Co., San Francisco, Cal.; Lyon & Healy, Chicago, Ill.; Kipp Bros Co., Indianapolis, Ind.; John C. Haynes Co., Boston, Mass.; C. Bruno & Sons, New York City; August Pollmann, New York City; John Church Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Rudolph Wurlitzer Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Heeren Bros. & Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; Murray, Blanchard, Young & Co., Providence, R. I.

MANUFACTURED BY

REGINA MUSIC BOX CO.,

BROADWAY, 22d STREET and FIFTH AVENUE, New York.

COMPANY'S HOME OFFICE BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO

HAVE YOU SEEN OUR LATEST ACCIDENT POLICIES GRANTING HEALTH INSURANCE?

It Costs You Nothing....

To learn what offer we can make you.
The .. .. .. NEW **MUTUAL INVESTMENT LIFE CONTRACT**

ISSUED BY

The Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co.

surpasses anything in the market.

30 Years' Successful Business. **Nine Million Dollars Paid Claimants**

Get a fac-simile policy showing AT YOUR AGE the full schedules of annual GUARANTEED VALUES IN CASH, in PAID-UP INSURANCE, of ANNUAL ADDITIONS to the sum insured, and of EXTENSION OF THE TERM of the insurance in case of lapse. You will find it to your interest to do this at once.

The Best and Safest legal organization for Policy Holders of any American Company

A. A. Mosher, Eastern Manager

NEW YORK PENNSYLVANIA NEW JERSEY CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND

100 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

REPRESENTATIVE MEN AS AGENTS WANTED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITERS IN THE JULY FORUM.

REPRESENTATIVE SAMUEL J. BARROWS, of Boston, was born in New York city in 1845. After a primary-school education he entered, at the age of nine, the employ of R. Hoe & Co., New York, as errand boy and telegraph operator. With the exception of one year spent at the public schools, he remained nine years with this firm; studied at night-school; learned shorthand; enlisted in the navy at nineteen, but was not mustered in on account of ill health; practised as a stenographer; was reporter for the New York "Sun" and the New York "World"; in 1867 became phonographic secretary to William H. Seward, then Secretary of State; accompanied Chaplain Newman of the Senate to Utah in 1870, and reported the debate with the Mormons; entered the Harvard Divinity School in the fall of 1871, and was graduated with the degree of B.A.; while at Harvard was Boston correspondent of the New York "Tribune"; accompanied, as correspondent of the same paper, the Yellowstone Expedition in 1873, under the command of Gen. Stanley, and the Black Hills Expedition in 1874, commanded by Gen. Custer; took part in 1873 in the battles of Tongue River and the Big Horn; spent a year at Leipsic University and studied political economy; was settled as pastor of the First Parish, Dorchester (Boston), Mass., in 1876; resigned in 1881 to become editor of the "Christian Register," which position he held for sixteen years; was appointed by President Cleveland in 1896 to represent the United States on the International Prison Commission. Mr. Barrows was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress as a Republican.

MR. C. WOOD DAVIS, a native of Massachusetts, was traffic manager of the first railway built west of the Missouri River. For the last ten years he has devoted most of his time to investigating the relations of food-bearing acres to the world's "bread-eating" population. Mr. Davis's articles, "The Impending Deficiency of Bread-Stuffs," in THE FORUM for October, 1897, and "Corn and Cotton-Seed: Why the Price of Corn is Low," in THE FORUM for February last, evoked much comment.

MISS ADELAIDE R. HASSE was born in Milwaukee, and educated in the schools of that city. At twenty-one, she entered professional life in the Public Library of Los Angeles, California, where she held the position of Assistant Librarian from April, 1890, until May, 1895. She gave such particular attention to the publications of the United States Government, that, when the office of Superintendent of Documents was created in 1895, her work in this connection had become so well known in Washington, that the position of Librarian of the office was tendered her. She held this position until May, 1897, when she became associated with the New York Public Library.

MR. FRANK F. HILDER is a native of England, and, when a young man, served for several years in the British Army in India. Afterward he came to the United States and was admitted to citizenship. From 1871 to 1886 he was connected with a New York corporation as one of their agents for negotiating with foreign governments for the supply of arms and munitions of war. In 1891 he went to Washington, where he has since resided. For several years he was clerk to the Senate Committee on Coast Defences, and is now Assistant Secretary of the National Geographical Society. Mr. Hilder has twice visited the Philippines. On the first occasion he spent six months on the Islands, and on the latter, three months. He is favorably known as a lecturer and writer, particularly on geographic and economic subjects.

MR. L. O. HOWARD, born in 1857, at Rockford, Illinois, was educated at Cornell University; graduated with the class of 1877; took a year's post-graduate work in comparative anatomy, and obtained the degree of Master of Science. Went to Washington in 1878 as Assistant Entomologist of the United States Department of Agriculture; was appointed Chief Entomologist in 1894; Hon. Curator of the Department of Insects in the United States National Museum in 1895. Is Lecturer on Insects in the Post-graduate School of Georgetown University; is a Ph.D. of Georgetown University; President of the Biological Society of Washington; and Permanent Secretary of the American Association for Advancement of Science.

(*Continued on page 8.*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trade No 4711 Mark

Captol

(REGISTERED)

The Only Dandruff Cure

The Captol Hair Tonic is a new and invaluable discovery made by the well-known authority on diseases of the scalp, **Dr. P. J. Eichhoff,** Professor of Dermatology, **Elberfeld,** Germany.

Captol completely eradicates scurf and dandruff in 10 to 14 days, and is a sure preventive of baldness.

(See Deutsche Medicin. Wochenschrift, 1897, No. 41.)

Experience has shown that all other specifics recommended for these purposes have proved failures.

SOLE U. S. AGENTS,
MÜLHENS & KROPFF, - - NEW YORK.

OXYDONOR

"VICTORY"

(Trade-Mark Registered Nov. 24, '96.)

Gives Vigorous Health.

(Trade Mark Registered Nov. 24, 1896)
OXYDONOR APPLIED.

THE OXYDONOR, for SELF-TREATMENT, causes the human body to attract and absorb OXYGEN FROM THE AIR. The OXYDONOR thus causes the natural cure of all forms of disease in Men, Women, and Children without medicine or electricity. Plain directions with each appliance. Get the genuine, made by the discoverer and inventor, **Dr. H. Sanche.** Beware of imitations.

SEASICKNESS.

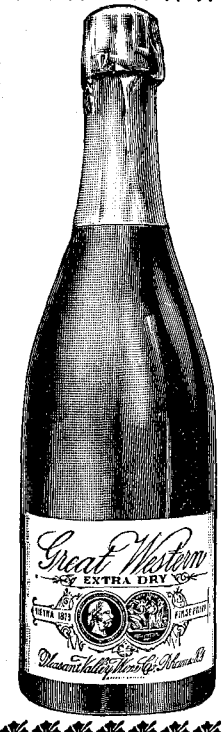
Dr. H. SANCHE: ELIZABETH, N. J.

Dear Sir:—The enjoyment of a sea voyage is always spoiled by that dreadful malady known as Seasickness. But with Oxydonor "Victory" at hand, none need suffer. During a voyage to Europe, the Oxydonor has been a great boon to me, having cured me every time when attacked by Seasickness. I heartily commend it as a travelling companion and friend. Respectfully,

Mrs. F. TERSTIGEN.

Catalogue of prices and descriptive books sent upon application.

DR. H. SANCHE & COMPANY,
261 Fifth Ave., New York City.
61 Fifth St., Detroit, Mich.
57 State St., Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Office, 2268 Catherine St., Montreal.



The Merit

of absolute **PURITY,** fine **BOUQUET** and moderate **PRICE** has brought

Great Western

to the first place in American Champagnes, and enabled it to displace the high-priced foreign wines in many homes, clubs, and cafés.

The vintage offered this season is especially dry and pleasing.

Pleasant Valley Wine Co.,

SOLE MAKERS,

Rheims, = = = N. Y.

SOLD BY

H. B. KIRKE & CO., N. Y.

S. S. PIERCE CO., Boston.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P., the well-known novelist and historian, was born at Cork, Ireland, on November 22, 1830, and was privately educated there. He was a journalist from 1848 to 1880 in Cork, Liverpool, and London successively; editor, "Morning Star," 1864–1868; leader-writer, "Daily News," from 1870; M.P. for Longford County, 1879, for Derry City, 1886–1892, and for North Longford since the latter year. His many novels and historical works include "Miss Misanthrope," "Dear Lady Disdain," "A History of Our Own Times," and "A History of the Four Georges."

HON. LUTHER F. MCKINNEY was born near Newark, Ohio, in 1841. He entered the War of the Rebellion in 1861, serving for nearly two years in the First Ohio Cavalry, and was discharged on account of disabilities. In 1870 he graduated from St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York; entered the Universalist ministry, and preached for fifteen years. In 1886, he was elected to Congress from New Hampshire; serving the First District in the Fiftieth and Fifty-second Congresses. In April, 1893, President Cleveland appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, in which position he served till the close of the Cleveland Administration.

MR. SIMON POKAGON, born in 1832, is a full-blooded Indian and the last chief of the Pottawattamie Pokagon band. He is agent for the Lawrence, Kansas, Indian School. Mr. Pokagon was the guest of Chicago during the World's Columbian Exposition. His article in THE FORUM for August, 1897, on "The Future of the Red Man," attracted much attention.

HIS EXCELLENCY ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE was born in 1831 at Nürtingen, Würtemberg. In 1860 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy in the University of Tübingen, and in 1868 to a similar position in the University of Vienna. In 1871 became Austria Minister of Commerce, but soon resigned his post, and removed to Stuttgart, where he engaged actively in scientific and literary matters. He is one of the leading German economists, and has written a series of works of which his "Quintessence of Socialism" has appeared in several editions.

MR. HENRY SCHULER TOWNSEND, born on a frontier farm in Iowa in 1856, received his early education in country schools, and was graduated from Des Moines College in 1880. He removed to the Hawaiian Islands in 1881, and, after teaching in various schools for fourteen years, was chosen, in 1895, Inspector-General of Schools; which position he still holds. An important article by Mr. Townsend on "Education in Hawaii" appeared in THE FORUM for January, 1898.

SENATOR STEPHEN MALLORY WHITE, born in San Francisco, California, 1853, and graduated from Santa Clara College in 1871, was admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of California in 1874. Mr. White was elected State Senator in 1886, and United States Senator in 1893.

DR. ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH was born in 1845 at Beyrout, Syria, where his father was Prussian Consul. After a term of service as officer in the Prussian Army, he studied law. In 1889 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena, and now holds the title of *Geheimer Legationsrath*. Dr. Wildenbruch is one of the foremost dramatic poets of Germany.

The Thorndike, Boston, Mass.

Opposite Public Garden. European plan. Used by the best people. Luggage delivered from Park Square Station, N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Leave checks at hotel office. Twenty minutes by electric car from Northern Union Station or site of new Southern Union Station.

No Other so Good.

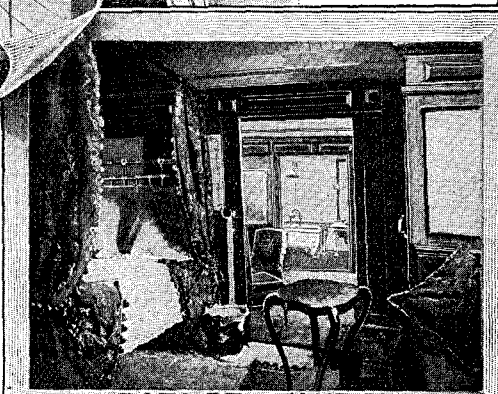
The social life of the present century, creates conditions of motherhood which many times prevent the natural supply of food for infants. No so called infant food equals the Gail Borden Eagle Brand Condensed Milk.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Seven Days of Unalloyed Delight"

2000 INTERESTING MILES OF LAKE AND RIVER.... ....TRAVEL

DECK SCENE.



PARLOR SUITE.

WITH ALL THE CUISINE COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCE OF THE VERY BEST HOTELS

THE tour of the Great Lakes from Buffalo to Duluth and return on the incomparably luxurious floating palaces of the Northern Steamship Company affords more genuine enjoyment than any other trip that can be taken. Unquestionably the largest and finest steamships exclusively for passenger travel ever floated; on deck or in cabin every wish has been forestalled and every want supplied—state-rooms with couches and brass bedsteads—bath-rooms en suite with porcelain-lined tubs—everywhere roominess and comfort, with all appliances in the most perfect taste. Lacking entirely the monotony and confinement of an ocean voyage, although equally, if not more, restful and invigorating, it would be impossible to crowd into one week more of everything that makes a vacation enjoyable and beneficial. "No Spanish Cruisers on our inland seas."

The great popularity of this route this season makes it doubly important, in order not to be disappointed, to make reservations as far in advance as possible. For particulars address I. M. BORTLE, Gen. Pass. Agent, Buffalo, N. Y.

W. C. FARRINGTON, Vice-President.

WAGSTAFF & CO. N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

34th Annual Statement

OF THE

TRAVELERS

INSURANCE COMPANY.

Chartered 1863. (Stock.) Life and Accident Insurance.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, Pres't.

Hartford, Conn., January 1, 1898.

PAID-UP CAPITAL, $1,000,000.

ASSETS.

Real Estate,	$1,994,465.31
Cash on hand and in bank,	1,355,412.83
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate,	5,906,610.72
Interest accrued but not due,	227,730.38
Loans on collateral security,	945,400.94
Loans on this Company's Policies,	1,106,580.51
Deferred Life Premiums,	299,990.19
Prems. due and unreported on Life Policies,	228,448.75
United States Bonds,	14,000.00
State, county and Municipal Bonds,	3,612,646.78
Railroad stocks and bonds,	4,664,205.75
Bank stocks,	1,064,047.00
Other stocks and bonds,	1,449,455.00
Total Assets,	$22,868,994.16

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department,	$16,650,062.00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Dep't,	1,365,817.22
Present value, Instalment Life Policies.	426,288.00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers,	299,066.30
Losses unadjusted,	269,794.94
Life Premiums paid in advance,	25,330.58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.,	110,000.00
Total Liabilities,	$19,146,359.04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.	$3,722,635.12
Surplus to Stockholders	$2,722,635.12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Life Insurance in force	$91,882,210.00
New Life Insurance written in 1897	14,507,249.00

Insurance issued under the Annuity Plan is entered at the commuted value thereof as required by law.

Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	1,235,585.39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	13,150,350.57

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number Accident Claims paid in 1897,	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid,	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	$1,381,906.81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	21,210,095.96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897	$2,617,492.20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	34,360,446.53

GEORGE ELLIS, Secretary.
JOHN E. MORRIS, Ass't Secretary.
EDWARD V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.
J. B. LEWIS, M.D., Surgeon and Adjuster.
SYLVESTER C. DUNHAM, Counsel.

The New York Central Cab Service

is the most popular move made by any Company in years.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

..TO..

ONE DOLLAR

will take you from the Grand Central Station to any point between the Battery and One Hundred and Thirtieth Street.

MODELS OF COMFORT

is the name fittingly applied to the elegantly equipped passenger coaches, parlor and sleeping cars that make up the trains running between **New York, Philadelphia** and **Buffalo** and **Niagara Falls,** on the

Lehigh Valley Railroad

and to complete the enjoyment of a trip that—by the use of every modern approved appliance in the construction of their cars that human skill and ingenuity can devise for making these rolling palaces home-like—is surrounded by all the creature comforts attainable in railway travel, the route is through a region of

Unrivalled Scenery :: ::

including historic valleys, mountain heights, rushing rivers and placid lakes.

All through day trains carry dining cars, serving

Meals à la Carte

on which a passenger may order what he or she may choose, from a cup of coffee to an elaborate meal, and pay only for what is ordered.

For illustrated descriptive books on this route or information as to rates of fare, etc., send your address, with four cents in stamps, to **Chas. S. Lee,** Gen'l Passenger Agent, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Duluth Evening Herald

guarantees its advertisers a bona fide paid circulation double that of any other newspaper published in the State of Minnesota outside of St. Paul and Minneapolis papers. Advertising contracts will be made subject to this guarantee.

Eastern Office, 38 Park Row, NEW YORK.

H. D. LA COSTE, Manager.

Ladies Who Like Good Society

as well as safe company and comfortable cars should always travel on the lines of the

"Big Four"

If you live between or beyond Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Benton Harbor, Detroit, Toledo, Sandusky, Peoria, Cairo, Vincennes, Terre Haute, Louisville, Indianapolis, Dayton, Columbus,

You can travel on the lines of the Big Four. Insist upon tickets via this railroad. Learn all about it beforehand by writing for pamphlet which tells. Free.

E. O. McCORMICK, Passenger Traffic Manager.
WARREN J. LYNCH, Ass't Gen'l Pass. & T'k't Agt.
CINCINNATI.

Your Vacation.

Famous for its comfortable and interesting route, fine equipment and punctual service, and widely celebrated for its great through trains between Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, New York and Boston, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Ry. provides tourists with every convenience for delightful vacation travel to the summer resorts throughout the east and west.

All ticket agents will sell reduced rate tourist tickets over this route.

"Summer Tours"

is a handsomely illustrated book describing summer resorts on the St. Lawrence River, Atlantic Coast and Great Lakes, in the Adirondack and White Mountains, etc.; sent on receipt of 6 cents in postage.

"Chautauqua Lake."

An illustrated, descriptive book of the most beautiful of America's resorts; 4 cents in postage. Address,

A. J. SMITH,
G. P. & T. A., Cleveland, O.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Free booklet tells how and why

Yost Writing Machine Co.

61 Chambers St. New York

50 Holborn Viaduct London, Eng.

THE OPERATOR OF A
WILLIAMS
TYPEWRITER
SEES THE WRITING
RIGHT HERE

greatly increasing the ease, speed, and accuracy. As the type in printing move only half as far as in other makes, the speed is greatest and the touch lightest.

This is the way it looks to the operator.

PRINTS LIKE A PRESS— no blur, no dirty ribbon.

Williams Typewriter Co., Derby, Conn.

Chicago, 156 La Salle St.
Boston, 147 Washington St.
San Francisco, 508 Clay St.
Atlanta, 16 North Pryor St.
St. Louis, 306 North Third St.
Philadelphia, 1019 Market St.
London, 104 Newgate St.
New York, 273 Broadway.
Cleveland, 131-5 Euclid Ave.
Dallas, 283 Main St.
Denver, 321 Sixteenth St.
Montreal, 200 Mountain St.
Richmond, 914 E. Main St.
Cincinnati, 409 Walnut St.
Milwaukee, 224 Grand Ave.

THE TYPEWRITER EXCHANGE.

A GOOD TYPEWRITER IN YOUR OFFICE will demonstrate its advantages.

Send for samples of writing, with prices, etc. Largest and most complete stock of second-hand Typewriters of any house in the trade. Machines shipped, privilege of inspection.

Title to every machine guaranteed.

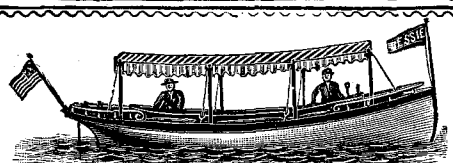
FOUR STORES { 115 Barclay St., New York; 156 Adams St., Chicago; 38 Bromfield St., Boston; 817 Wyandotte St., Kansas City.

BOOT JACK PLUG TOBACCO
COSTLIEST BECAUSE BEST

BOOT JACK: Conceded by experts to be unquestionably the best chewing tobacco. A gentleman's luxury.

For the return of 36 silver paper strips from 5 cent cuts of Boot Jack, we will send to any address free of charge a handsome aluminum pocket case for tobacco.

JOHN FINZER & BROS., Manufacturers
Louisville, Ky.



No Fire, Smoke or Heat. Absolutely Safe. Catalogue Free.
TRUSCOTT BOAT MFG. CO., ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

PATENTS Thos. P. Simpson, Washington, D. C. No attorney's fee until patent obtained. Write for Inventor's Guide.

FOR GOUT & RHEUMATISM
Use the Great English Remedy
BLAIR'S PILLS
Safe, Sure, Effective. 50c. & $1
DRUGGISTS, or 224 William St., N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't imagine that

HARDWOOD FLOORS

are all alike. Quite the contrary. Some never look well. Some look well at first but soon give out because not honestly made. Others look well at first and continue to look well because they are honestly made. We guarantee our floors against all defects that may ever arise from faulty material or workmanship, and our guarantee is good. We can satisfy you on this point. We could not afford to do this unless we did our work well. All we ask is that the floors have reasonable care. We furnish wax and brushes for keeping floors in order. We will tell you all about these things if you will write us. Catalogue free.

WOOD-MOSAIC CO., Rochester, N. Y.

Superfluous Hair

I suffered for years with a humiliating growth of hair on my face, and tried many remedies without success; but I ultimately discovered the **true secret** for *permanent removal of hair*, and for six years have been applying my treatment to others, thereby rendering happiness to, and gaining thanks of **thousands of ladies.**

I assert, and **will prove to you,** that my depilatory treatment will destroy the follicle and otherwise **permanently remove the hair forever.** No trace is left on the skin after using, and the treatment can be applied *privately by yourself* in your own chamber.

If you are troubled, write to me for further information, and I will convince you of all I claim. I will give prompt personal and strictly confidential attention to your letter. Being a woman, I know of the delicacy of such a matter as this, and act accordingly. Address, inclosing two stamps,

HELEN MARKO, 156 D. Fifth Ave., New York City

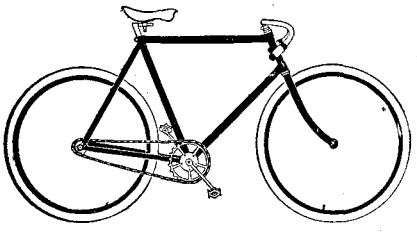
Beauty

of **FACE** and **FORM** can be gained by my treatment; **IMPROVEMENT will begin the first day,** and after a short time you will delight yourself and your friends by acquiring a charmingly **transparent, clean, pure velvety skin, lustrous eyes** and (if needed) **development** of the **cheeks, neck,** etc. I give my personal attention to you by mail, guaranteeing success; distance makes no difference. Address, confidentially, enclosing stamp, for *particulars, which I will send sealed in plain envelope.*

Mme. HUNTLEY,
P. O. Box 3032 N, New York, N. Y.

Tribune Bicycles

$50.00 AND UPWARDS



A world-wide reputation for fine workmanship and easy-running qualities. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

Handsome catalogue illustrating our full line of twenty-three models mailed free.

THE BLACK MFG. CO., ERIE, PA.

"A most valuable book for women."
DR. AGNEW.

Approaching Maternity

BY

JOHN ROSS PANCOAST, M.D.

A great physician's experienced advice for this trying time. **No wife should be without it.** Sent by mail securely wrapped for ONE DOLLAR.

Indorsed by Dr. Agnew.
Named by Bishop Phillips Brooks.
Written by Dr. Pancoast.

The Pancoast Company,

648 Bourse, Philadelphia, Pa.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DIRECTORY OF ATTORNEYS.

Arranged alphabetically according to States, and giving address by town and county.

Arkansas.

CABOT, LONOKE—James F. Black.
TEXARKANA, MILLER—James F. Black.

Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN—Wm. A. Wright.
SOUTHINGTON, HARTFORD—Marcus H. Holcomb.

Florida.

JACKSONVILLE, DUVAL—Cooper & Cooper.

Georgia.

WASHINGTON, WILKES—W. M. & M. P. Reese, 29 Main St.

Illinois.

AUGUSTA, HANCOCK—Sterling P. Lemmon.
BLOOMINGTON—Kerrick & Bracken.
CHICAGO—Ayers, Rinaker & Ayers, 505-6 Chamber Commerce Bldg.
Thornton & Chancellor, Masonic Temple.
DANVILLE, VERMILLION—Fred Draper.
KANKAKEE, KANKAKEE—A. E. Smith.
PITTSFIELD, PIKE—Arthur C. Bentley.
QUINCY, ADAMS—Govert & Pope.
WATSEKA, IROQUOIS—Kay & Kay.

Indiana.

ANDERSON, MADISON—Howell D. Thompson.
CLINTON, VERMILLION—D. C. Johnson.
CRAWFORDSVILLE, MONTGOMERY—Jno. L. Shrum.
FRANKTON, MADISON—J. M. Farlow.
FT. WAYNE, ALLEN—Jas. M. Barrett.
HAMMOND, LAKE—J. G. Ibach.
LA PORTE, LA PORTE—Mortimer Nye.
MARION, GRANT—Alva Duncan.
MUNCIE, DELAWARE—Ellis & Walterhouse.
SOUTH BEND, ST. JOSEPH—J. D. Henderson.
SULLIVAN, SULLIVAN—John S. Bays.
TERRE HAUTE, VIGO—W. T. Gleason.
VALPARAISO, PORTER—A. D. Bartholomew.

Iowa.

BURLINGTON—Smyth & Lewald.
CEDAR RAPIDS, LINN—W. L. Crissman.
Preston, Wheeler & Moffitt.
DES MOINES, POLK—Dunshee & Allen.
DUBUQUE, DUBUQUE—M. M. Cady.
ELDORA, HARDIN—Charles L. Hays.
HARTLEY, O'BRIEN—W. P. Briggs.
IOWA CITY—Johnson, Baker & Ball,
MARION, LINN—see Cedar Rapids.
ROCKWELL CITY, CALHOUN—M. W. Frick.
SPENCER, CLAY—Cornwall & Martin.
TIPTON, LINN—see Cedar Rapids.
VINTON, BENTON—Wm. P. Whipple.

Kansas.

LEAVENWORTH, LEAVENWORTH—William C. Hook.
J. H. Wendorft.

Kentucky.

BARDWELL, CARLISLE—J. M. Nichols & Son.
BOWLING GREEN, WARREN—Wright & McElroy.
COVINGTON, KENTON—Charles H. Fisk.
MAYSVILLE, MASON—Milton Johnson.
NEWPORT, CAMPBELL—N. L. Bennett.

Louisiana.

HOUMA, TERREBONNE—L. F. Suthon.

Maine.

EASTPORT, WASHINGTON—Jno. H. McFaul.
PORTLAND, CUMBERLAND—Geo. F. Gould.
Locke & Locke.
WALDOBORO, LINCOLN—O. D. Castner.

Maryland.

ANNAPOLIS, ANNE ARUNDEL—Frank H. Stockett, Jr.

Massachusetts.

ATHOL, WORCESTER—E. V. Wilson.
NEW BEDFORD, BRISTOL—Robert F. Raymond.
WORCESTER, WORCESTER—Elliott H. Peabody, 43 Main St.
J. H. Johnson.

Michigan.

BROWN CITY, SANILAC—Fred A. Farr.
DETROIT, WAYNE—Griffin, Clark Russell, Chamber Commerce Bldg.
ITHACA, GRATIOT—E. H. Ashley.
JACKSON, JACKSON—Forest C. Badgeley.
KALAMAZOO—E. A. & R. B. Crane.
MARLETTE, SANILAC—see Brown City.
THREE RIVERS, ST. JOSEPH—S. M. Constantine.

Minnesota.

ASHLEY, GRANT—A. S. King.
MANKATO, BLUE EARTH—W. L. Comstock.
MINNEAPOLIS, HENNEPIN—Fifield, Fletcher, & Fifield.
MONTICELLO, WRIGHT—James C. Tarbox.
MOOREHEAD, CLAY—E. Adams.
PRESTON, FILLMORE—H. R. Wells.
RICHMOND, WINONA—M. A. Bussen.
ST. CLOUD, STEARNS—Calhoun & Bennett.

ST. PAUL—

MORPHY, EWING & GILBERT.

Attorneys and Counsellors.

Rooms 609, 610, 611, 612 Manhattan Building.

Collections receive prompt and effective attention.

VIRGINIA, ST. LOUIS—J. D. Taylor.
WATERVILLE, LE SUEUR—M. R. Everett.
WINONA, WINONA—Berry & Morey.
WORTHINGTON, NOBLES—C. M. Crandall.

Mississippi.

HAZLEHURST, COPIAH—J. S. Sexton.
MERIDIAN, LAUDERDALE—Ethridge & McBeath.
ROSEDALE, BOLIVAR—Chas. Scott.
SARDIS, PANOLA—J. B. Boothe.

Missouri.

CHILLICOTHE, LIVINGSTON—Davis, Loomis & Davis.
SEDALIA, PETTIS—D. E. Kennedy.

Montana.

HELENA, LEWIS AND CLARKE—Walsh & Newman.

Nebraska.

BEAVER CITY, FURNIS—Chas. M. Kelley.
BROKEN BOW, CUSTER—James Ledwich.
FAIRBURY, JEFFERSON—John C. Hartigan.
HUMBOLDT, RICHARDSON—E. A. Tucker.
NORFOLK, MADISON—Geo. A. Latimer.
OMAHA, DOUGLAS—Thos. D. Crane, N. Y. Life Bldg.
ORD, VALLEY—Clements Bros.
SEWARD, SEWARD—M. D. Carey.
STANTON, STANTON—G. A. Eberly.
TRENTON, HITCHCOCK—Button & Button.

New Hampshire.

NASHUA, HILLSBOROUGH—Wm. J. McKay.
PETERBOROUGH, HILLSBOROUGH—Jas. F. Brennan.

New Jersey.

CAMDEN CAMDEN—Thomas E. French 106 Market St.
PASSAIC, PASSAIC—George P. Rust.

New York.

BALLSTON SPA, SARATOGA—Jas. L. Scott.
NEW YORK CITY—M. S. & I. S. Isaacs, 27 Pine Street.
ROCHESTER—W. H. Cantwell, 325 Powers Block.
WALTON, DELAWARE—Sam'l H. Fancher.

North Dakota.

GRAND FORKS, GRAND FORKS—F. H. McDermott.

Ohio.

AKRON—Otis & Otis.
COLUMBUS—Frank M. Raymond.
ELYRIA, LORAIN—H. W. Ingersol.
NORWALK, HURON—Andrews Bros.
WARREN, TRUMBULL—Robert T. Izant.

Pennsylvania.

BROOKVILLE, JEFFERSON—Alexander C. & John M. White
CHAMBERSBURG, FRANKLIN—Geo. W. Atherton.
MECHANICSBURG, CUMBERLAND—Wm. Penn Lloyd.

Rhode Island.

NEWPORT—Sam'l R. Honey, 27 Franklin St.
Wm. P. Sheffield, Jr., 223 Thames St.
PROVIDENCE—James Tillinghast, 6 S. Main St.

South Carolina.

CHARLESTON—Mordecai & Gadsden.
Smythe & Lee.
WINNSBORO, FAIRFIELD—W. D. Douglass, 5 and 6 Law Range.

South Dakota.

YANKTON—Gamble & Dillon.

Tennessee.

KNOXVILLE—Ingersoll & Peyton.
NASHVILLE—D. F. Wilkin & Chamberlain, Vanderbilt Law Building.

Texas.

CHILTON, FALLS—see Marlin.
COLEMAN, COLEMAN—T. J. White.
LOTT, FALLS—see Marlin.
MARLIN, FALLS—Joiner & Pool.
REAGAN, FALLS—see Marlin.
ROSEBUD, FALLS—see Marlin.
TYLER, SMITH—Ross & Selman.

Vermont.

BARRE, WASHINGTON—John W. Gordon.

Virginia.

LYNCHBURG—James E. Edmunds.

Wisconsin.

DARLINGTON, LAFAYETTE—Orton & Osborn.
JANESVILLE—A. M. Fisher, 4-5 Jackman Block.
MILWAUKEE—Miller, Noyes, Miller & Wahl, 102 Wisconsin St.

THE NORTHWESTERN COLLECTION AGENCY.

Rooms 63-67 Sentinel Building.

MOE & HANSEN, Attorneys.

Mercantile Collections. No Membership Fee. Correspondents and Connections Everywhere.

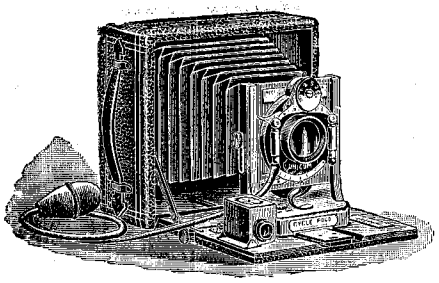
ERNEST S. MOE, President. C. H. WILLIAMS, Sec'y and Manager.
OTTO R. HANSEN, Associate Counsel. JOSHUA STARK, Special Counsel.

OCONTO, OCONTO—Morrow & Lynch.

MAKE MONEY fast and easy by selling our wheels. 15,000 on hand; prompt shipment, '98 models $12 to $37.50; '97 and '96 models $9 to $18. 600 good shopworn and used wheels, $3, $5, $8 and $12 each. 100 '97 boys' and girls' wheels, M. & W. tires, $9.75 each. Art Book on Bicycles Free. We will give a rider agent in each town FREE USE of sample wheel to introduce them. Write for special offer to agents. N. A. MEAD & PRENTISS, Chicago, Ill.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pictures A-Wheel



The Cycle Poco

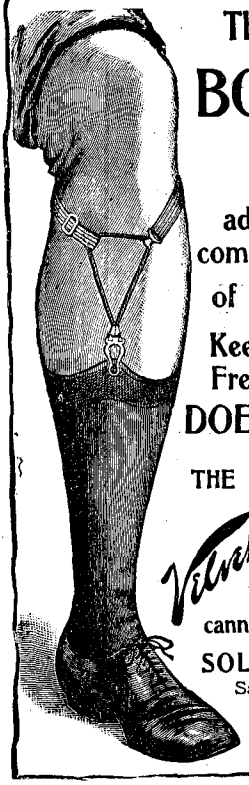
has been brought very closely to perfection as a wheeling companion. It has all the new Poco features, combined with *marvelous compactness, great strength, light weight and quickness of handling.*

Serviceable, accurate, and inexpensive. "Poco workmanship" throughout—there's nothing higher than that.

The Poco Book tells all about this and other cameras. We'd like to send you one.

The Rochester Camera Co.

34 Elizabeth St. Rochester, N. Y.



The Improved

BOSTON GARTER

adds neatness and comfort to the wearing of LOW SHOES

Keeps the Stocking Free from Wrinkles

DOES NOT BIND

THE Vivak Grip CUSHION BUTTON CLASP

Lies flat to the leg and cannot unfasten accidentally

SOLD EVERYWHERE

Sample Pair by Mail { Silk, 50c. Cotton, 25c.

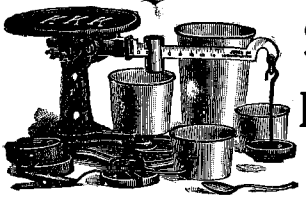
GEORGE FROST CO. BOSTON, MASS.

GURNEY HOT WATER HEATERS STEAM BOILERS RADIATORS

MOST EFFICIENT-DURABLE AND ECONOMICAL

SYSTEMS OF HEATING ILLUSTRATED IN PAMPHLET, "HOW BEST TO HEAT OUR HOMES." SERIES F SENT FREE. ALWAYS RELIABLE — GURNEY HEATER M'F'G. CO. NEW YORK BRANCH 48 CENTRE ST. N.Y. CITY — 74 FRANKLIN ST. BOSTON.

JONES HE PAYS THE FREIGHT.



$3. EXPRESS PAID.

KOMPLETE KITCHEN KABINET, 20 lb. Scale. qt., pt., ½-pt., cup, table & T spoon. ALL U. S. STANDARD. Send cash or ask for circular.

JONES OF BINGHAMTON N. Y

IF CONFRONTED

too frequently by this condition, write for my illustrated and descriptive price list of hosiery for men, women and children, made to be sold direct to the consumer.

PAUL SCHLOSSMANN, Knitter and Weaver Philadelphia

School Furniture. All kinds, low prices.

Church Furniture. Opera Chairs.

Office Desks, Letter Files, Type-writers, Cabinets. Send for Catalogue.

E. H. STAFFORD CO. MUSKEGON, Mich.

Eat Pim-Olas

(PATENT APPLIED FOR)

A delicious relish to stimulate the appetite and impart good cheer to the meal. Seville Packing Co. New York.

Beware of substitutes.

WINES, CHAMPAGNES, LIQUORS,

for Families, Connoisseurs, and Medicinal Purposes. From Producer to Consumer at only one profit.

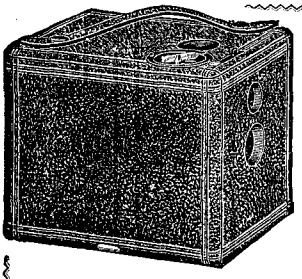
This means better goods for less money.

Our *Genesee* and *Imperial* Champagnes are fermented in the bottle, by the French method, and are unrivaled. Write for our special offer catalogue. Agents wanted everywhere; experience unnecessary. Ask terms.

Dep't K, Genesee Valley Wine Company,

Vineyards Established 1843. New York State and California. Rochester, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE BUCKEYE CAMERA

FOR FILMS OR PLATES . . . . .
MAY BE LOADED IN DAYLIGHT.

PRACTICABLE, COMPACT, PORTABLE

FOR FILMS ONLY.	FOR BOTH FILMS AND PLATES.
3½ x 3½ Buckeye, $8.00	3½ x 3½ Special Buckeye, with one holder, $9.00
4 x 5 Buckeye, - 12.00	4 x 5 Special Buckeye, with one holder, - 16.00

Try Metacarbol, the most powerful developer known.

...We recommend the NEW AMERICAN FILMS for Hand-Camera Work...

PHOTOGRAPHY FOR ALL, an elementary text book. Price, paper, 25c.; postage, 3c.

Catalogue of all kinds of cameras and all requisites for photography mailed on application, Free. | We recommend to amateurs CLIMAX DRY PLATES. They are quick and reliable

E. & H. T. ANTHONY & CO., 591 BROADWAY, NEW YORK. 45, 47, 49 E. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

What Is It?

Why, the most delicious and exquisite

Natural Champagne

Fermented in the bottle. Excels in health-giving properties. Ask your dealer for it, or address

The New Hammondsport Wine Co.
Hammondsport, N. Y.

To more thoroughly introduce our productions, we will deliver at any point in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains having an express office, one assorted case containing twelve bottles as follows: One pint each of Golden Age, Beef, Iron and Wine, and Cognac Process Brandy, and nine quart bottles of assorted Still Wines, making one dozen varieties, on receipt of address accompanied with $6.00.

A $7.00 BOOK OF EUGENE FIELD'S POEMS

Handsomely Illustrated by thirty-two of the World's Greatest Artists.

GIVEN FREE to each person interested in subscribing to the Eugene Field Monument Souvenir Fund. Subscriptions as low as $1.00 will entitle the donor to this handsome volume (cloth bound, size 8x11), as a souvenir certificate of subscription to the fund toward building a monument to the Beloved Poet of Childhood.

But for the noble contribution of the world's greatest artists this book could not have been manufactured for less than $7.00.

Address EUGENE FIELD MONUMENT SOUVENIR FUND,
180 MONROE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.
Mention this journal, as this is inserted as our contribution.

Malt-Nutrine

ITS USE PROLONGS LIFE.

Malt-Nutrine is a wonderful help in old age. It gives flesh and vigor. It is particularly adapted to strengthening convalescents, weak children and those suffering from lack of blood, stomach diseases, etc. It is prescribed by the best physicians as the most helpful tonic obtainable. Malt-Nutrine is simply condensed nutriment of malt—not a dark beer. Malt-Nutrine is prepared by the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, which fact guarantees the purity, excellence and merit claimed for it.

An interesting Booklet mailed for the asking.
Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, St. Louis, U. S. A.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Largest Insurance Company in the World

The Mutual Life Insurance Company

OF NEW YORK

RICHARD A. McCURDY, President

Assets, Dec. 31, 1897	$253,786,437 66
Liabilities	$218,278,243 07
Surplus	$35,508,194 59
Paid to Policy-holders since organization	$462,997,250 71
Income in 1897	$54,162,608 23
Increase of Income in 1897	$4,459,912 96
Increase of Surplus	$5,774,679 89
and Decrease of Expenses	$146,178 31

The finest Cocoa Beans are of a reddish brown color.

Blooker's Dutch Cocoa

either in the tin or prepared in the cup is reddish brown, which proclaims its purity. Cocoa of any other color indicates either an inferior grade of bean, or adulteration in the process of manufacture.

A Sample of Blooker's Cocoa (enough for two cups) will be sent for two cents to pay postage. Address

Franco-American Food Company,

Sole Wholesale Agents for the United States,

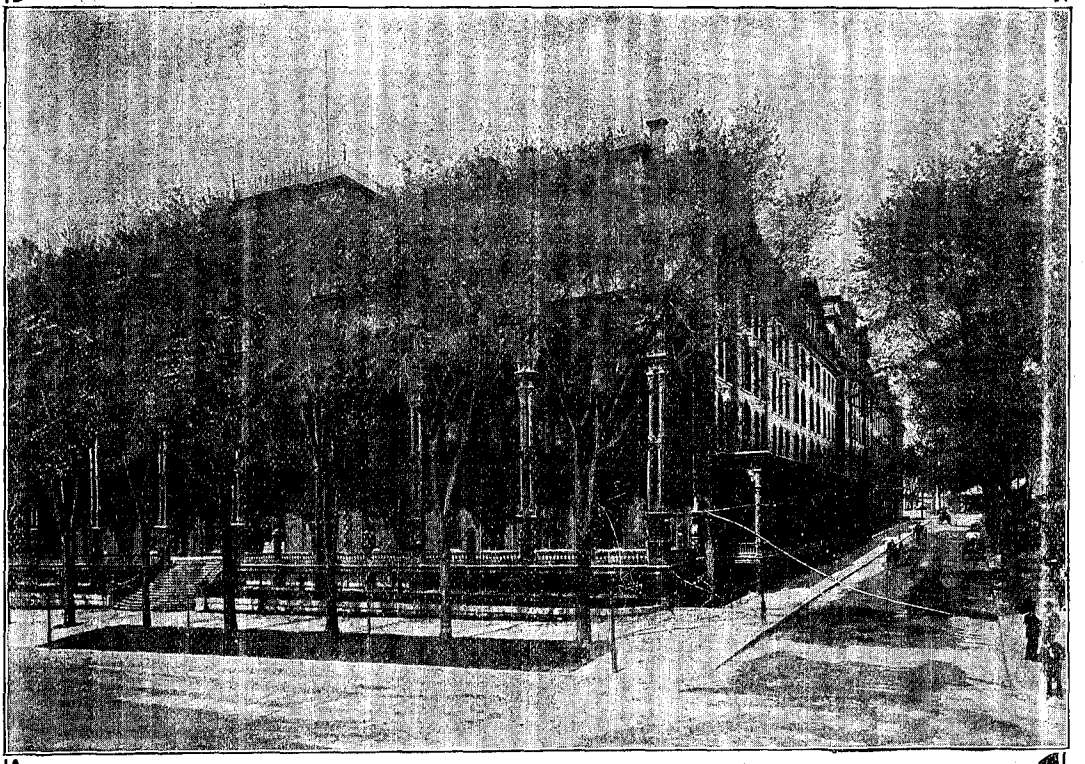
Jersey City Heights, N. J.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States Hotel

Saratoga Springs, New York

The Finest and Largest Summer Hotel in the United States



The Social Centre of Saratoga Springs

America's Leading Resort

Magnificent Accommodations—Fine Private Cottages
with all the Comforts of the Most Luxurious Homes

SUPERB GOLF LINKS BEST OF MUSIC

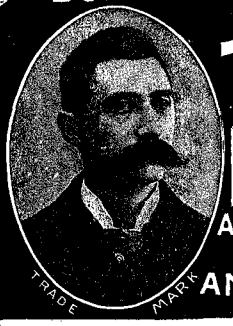
Send for beautifully illustrated pamphlet

UNITED STATES HOTEL, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

GAGE & PERRY, Proprietors

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MENNEN'S
BORATED TALCUM
TOILET POWDER
AFTER BATHING AND SHAVING.



Delightful After Bathing, a Luxury After Shaving

A Positive Relief for
PRICKLY HEAT, CHAFING, AND SUNBURN
and all afflictions of the Skin.

Removes all odor of perspiration. Get MENNEN'S (the original).
A little higher in price, but a reason for it.
Refuse all other Powders, which are liable to do harm.
Sold everywhere or mailed for 25 cents. (Sample free.)

GERHARD MENNEN CO. Newark, N.J.

Yale
A MIXTURE
Gentleman's smoke

Soft as a Glove

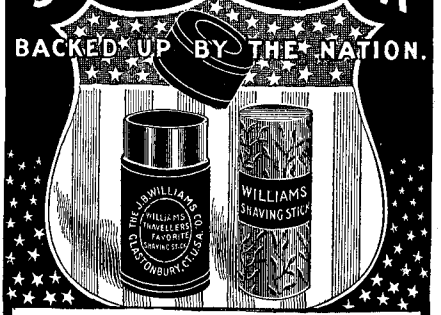
Vici Leather Dressing not only polishes any kind of shoes but makes them soft. The more you use it the better your shoes will look and the longer they will wear. It is a medicine for leather—leather lives upon it. It is not an enamel, therefore it does not peel off nor crack the shoe.

Vici
Leather Dressing

is sold by all dealers at 25 cents a bottle. It is made by the makers of Vici Kid, the most famous shoe leather in the world. A book that tells you all about buying, wearing and caring for shoes, mailed free.

ROBERT H. FOERDERER, Philadelphia, Pa.

WILLIAMS'
SHAVING STICK
BACKED UP BY THE NATION.



Williams' Soaps sold everywhere, but sent by mail if your dealer does not supply you.

Williams' Shaving Stick, 25 cts.
Genuine Yankee Shaving Soap, 10 cts.
Luxury Shaving Tablet, 25 cts.
Swiss Violet Shaving Cream, 50 cts.
Jersey Cream (Toilet) Soap, 15 cts.
Williams' Shaving Soap (Barbers'), 6 Round Cakes, 1lb., 40c. Exquisite also for toilet. Trial cake for 2c. stamp.

THE J.B. WILLIAMS CO.,
LONDON. 64 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C.
GLASTONBURY, CONN.
SIDNEY. 161 CLARENCE ST.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columbia

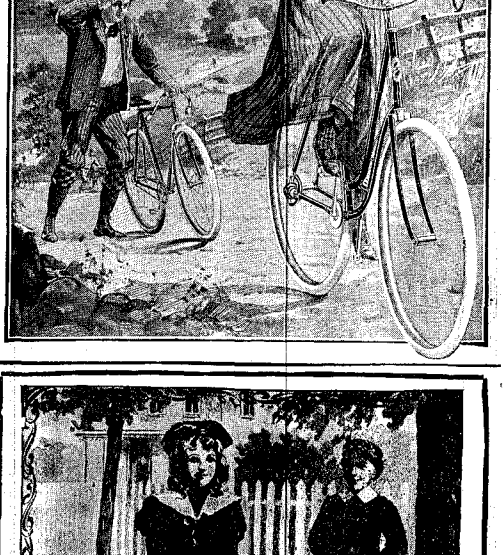
Bevel Gear

Chainless Bicycles

$125

Makes Hill Climbing Easy.
Columdia Chain Wheels, $75
Hartfords, - - - - - 50
Vedettes, - - $40 and 35

POPE MFG. CO., Hartford, Ct.



A BOUQUET OF FRESH CUT CARNATIONS IN A SINGLE DROP OF :: :: ::

ED. PINAUD'S
French Carnation Pink

the latest Parisian creation. This exquisite perfume is five times as fragrant and as pungent as any of the usual perfumes known heretofore. *One drop diffuses the fragranee fo a bouquet of freshly cut carnations.*

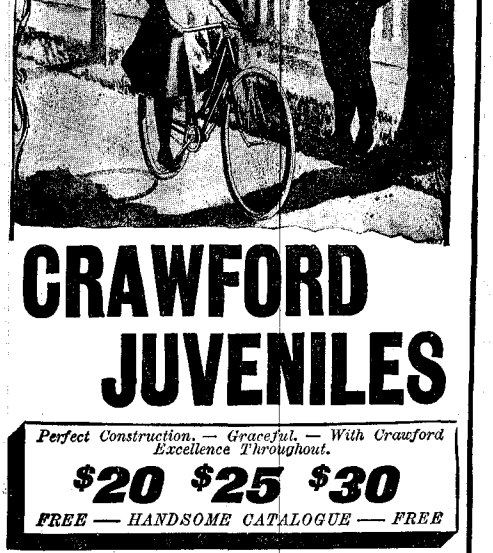
Try also

ED. PINAUD'S

French Carnation Pink Face Powder, French Carnation Pink Toilet Soap, at all Dealers, or Correspond with *ED. PINAUD'S* Importation Office,

46 East 14th Street,

Union Square, NEW YORK.



CRAWFORD JUVENILES

Perfect Construction. — Graceful. — With Crawford Excellence Throughout.

$20 $25 $30

FREE — HANDSOME CATALOGUE — FREE

CRAWFORD MFG. CO., Hagerstown, Md.
New York. Boston. Chicago. Baltimore. St. Louis.

MALE COMFORT

is secured by using the

Improved Washburne Patent Fasteners

as applied to

Bachelors' Buttons
Hose Supporters
Cuff Holders
Drawers Supporters
Pencil Holders
Necktie Holders
Eye-Glass Holders
Key Chains

These little articles are simple, with nothing about them to break or get out of order. Hold with a bull-dog tenacity, but don't tear the fabric.

Their utility makes them an absolute necessity.

Any of above sent, postpaid, on receipt of 10c., except Aluminum and Phosphor-Bronze Key Chains, which are 25c.

FREE Handsomely Illustrated Catalogue sent on request.

AMERICAN RING CO.

Box 37 Waterbury, Conn.

vose PIANOS

have been established 47 years. Are unsurpassed in **Tone, Beauty, and Durability.** By our system of payments every family in moderate circumstances can own a fine Piano. We take old instruments in exchange and deliver the piano in your house free of expense. Catalogue and explanations free. **VOSE & SONS PIANO CO., 174 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.**

COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED